Daily Report

East Europe

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UNHCR Suspends Bosnian Aid Operations

AU1702173793 Paris AFP in English 1714 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Geneva, Feb 17 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], Sadako Ogata, Wednesday [17 February] announced the suspension of a number of aid operations in Bosnia-Hercegovina "because of the failure of all parties to respect humanitarian principles".

The announcement in a statement released here came as three UN aid convoys for Bosnia were held up on the border between Serbia and Bosnia by Bosnian Serbs and as authorities in Sarajevo refused all food aid so long as UN convoys were not also allowed to reach Muslim populations in the east of the republic.

"While our efforts have been directed at the victims of this brutal conflict all parties have been mixing politics with humanitarian relief", Ogata said.

"The political leaders on all sides have made a mockery of our efforts and I deeply regret that their behaviour has obliged me to take this decision.

"By their actions they have condemned the victims to live without UNHCR asssitance," she added.

The convoys at the Serbia-Croatia border were being recalled, along with most of the UNHCR personnel in Sarajevo, she said.

Conference Addresses Illegal Migration Problem

LD1502215293 Prague CTK in English 2047 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest Feb 15 (CTK correspondent)—One of the most important tasks in defending against illegal migration is the coordination and harmonisation of visa policies in Central Europe, Czech Minister of the Interior Jan Ruml said today.

Ruml spoke on the first day of a two-day conference of European interior ministers intended to work out principles for controlling illegal migration in Europe. Ministers from 35 countries, including the Czech and Slovak Republics, are attending.

The conference, which is taking place behind closed doors, follows up a similar conference held October 1991 in Berlin.

Ruml also said that representatives from the Czech Republic, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia would convene in Prague within a few weeks to assess the possibility of closing a multilateral agreement on returning illegal immigrants to their country of origin. The meeting is tentatively being referred to as the Prague Initiative, and will probably include Slovenia, Ruml said. He added that the meeting would determine under what conditions the participants would be willing to sign a multilateral agreement.

Ruml told journalists that Central European visa policies should follow closely those of the European Community. He said he supported working out a multilateral treaty to solve the problem of migration between individual European states. The Czech Republic would welcome participation in a multilateral agreement which would cover the problems of the current transitional states, he said.

He expressed his belief that such a solution would not endanger the stability of participating countries. We would not like any single state to feel isolated in this problem. This question should be solved jointly, he said.

Ruml said he agreed with a general tightening of border controls, but that such a step must not unnecessarily burden travellers. He said he would request that such measures be worked out in detail and receive considerable financial support.

German Minister of the Interior Rudolf Seiters told CTK that Germany will strive above all for a comprehensive solution of the illegal migration problem. He emphasised, however, that the German government intends to continue bilateral negotiations with the Czech Republic and Poland in order to speed up the entire process.

Migration Conference Ends

LD1602215893 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—The 2nd two-day ministerial conference on illegal migration, which ended here today, adopted Berlin working group recommendations for exchanging information, fighting human smuggling, and starting special border guard units.

At the close of the meeting, attended by delegates from 35 countries and six international organisations, a press conference was held by Hungarian Interior Minister Peter Boross, who chaired the conference, German Interior Minister Rudolf Seiters, chairman of the 1991 Berlin meeting, and retired Austrian minister Willibald Pahr, head of the Berlin working group.

Boross described illegal migration as one of the gravest problems faced by Europe, and supported the idea raised at the conference for setting up a fund to help the most affected countries. He hoped this would more evenly distribute the burden.

Answering questions, Boross said Hungary intended to stop the practice of receiving political refugees only from European countries. He denied allegations that Hungary was preparing to act as 'the gendarme of Europe' in relation to immigrants.

Seiters believed illegal migration was an all-European responsibility. He welcomed the new working group led by Hungary to draft a convention on taking back refugees.

Seiters reported on his constructive talks with the Czech and Polish delegation heads. Discussions with Poland about the bilateral readmission agreement will be continued in March.

Pahr was glad that his working group's suggestions had been accepted at the conference. He thought the restriction of illegal migration was essential for a positive migration policy.

Polish Official Discusses Refugees

LD1402182793 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Interview with Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski by unidentified correspondent on 14 February; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Tomorrow in Budapest a meeting of 35 internal affairs ministers from Europe devoted to problems of illegal immigration will begin. It can be expected that the main subject of the talks will be the issue of the introduction of a new asylum law in Germany which, among other things, is to bring with it the expulsion of several hundred thousand people who have no chance of asylum in that country. The deportations would also include our country.

On behalf of the Polish Government Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski has been conducting negotiations on this issue in Bonn. So far he has been refusing any interviews prior to the meeting in Budapest. He made an exception for our program.

Mr. Minister, what have you achieved in these talks so far? We all know that if it came to deportations it would be a big problem for Poland.

[Zimowski] There are two problems in these talks, and the first problem is that now the Germans have gathered in their country significant numbers of people who have applied for asylum. For 1992 alone this is a figure of about 440,000. Since news that they were changing the asylum law travelled far and wide, right now they are having a sudden influx of new asylum seekers. In January this year 36,000 people applied in Germany for asylum. If we look at our figures then throughout last year we had 500 people applying for asylum, so they have twice that number making asylum applications every day.

The first task which the Germans want to solve and which affects the neighbors is what to do with the mass of the asylum seekers who to all intents and purposes will not get asylum in Germany because they are not political refugees but economic refugees. Here in these talks there appeared the idea that at first 100,000, then 50,000 and so on, asylum seekers would be transferred to Poland, 100,000 to Austria and Czechoslovakia—now the Czech Republic, and some more will be shared out among the neighbors here and there and, let's say, in Germany there would remain a group of about 200,000 with which it would be possible to cope; at least a country as well organized and relatively rich as Germany can cope with problems of that kind.

On the other hand, for us the expulsion and acceptance of this number of people is a disaster. We will simply not be able to maintain it. In our situation as it is we have one refugee center, we have to rent out holiday homes for numbers exceeding 200 people, our law in not in order, these are new problems for us, we have only been dealing with it for 2 years. They have had this problem for 40 years and they have been preparing for 5 years for the change which they are so strongly forcing today.

[Correspondent] We all know that the Germans want to offer something in return. There is even talk of certain sums of money. Could you comment on that?

[Zimowski] We did not talk about money because we are proceeding from the premise that we cannot accept such significant numbers of asylum seekers, refugees. We are altogether not able to take this up as an organizational task, as a social task, as an international task, we are not able, we simply cannot, we do not have enough resources and legal instruments to cope with the problem of, say, 40-50,000 people. That is the bitter truth. I might be ashamed of this, I am somewhat embarassed to admit this, but at this time our state will not cope with this kind of phenomenon.

[Correspondent] What is it like talking to the Germans? You allegedly told GAZETA WYBORCZA that the talks were not very diplomatic.

[Zimowski] I am not a professional diplomat, I don't have any international training, I am a state official who when all is said and done resolves certain practical tasks. We arranged with the German colleagues that we talk practically, that we do not talk diplomatically, we do not conceal some things, we do not play any games, we play fair. We simply talk fairly sharply with each other. That is in terms of diplomatic language these are sharp talks but they are comradely talks conducted fairly and I would say with mutual understanding.

[Correspondent] How do you appraise the chances for a compromise?

[Zimowski] I cannot imagine it without compromise. Just imagine that I would have to spend 4 million a day for each refugee. Well, I can't afford that. I think—and that's what we proposed to the German side—that these old layers, this heap of asylum seekers, which you have collected through your liberal asylum law, sort it out by yourselves, do not burden your neighbors with it, do not (?give) them these old cases. Everything that happens until the new asylum law, sort all this out by yourselves. It's all the same to you. If out of 200,000 you are going to deport, say, 150,000 to Romania, to Bulgaria, to Pakistan or some other country, well an extra 10,000, 15,000, or 30,000 is not going to hamper you too much, it won't create too many additional difficulties. For me, on the

other hand, this creates completely new problems. So please understand me and take these old cases upon yourselves.

Whereas once you introduce new regulations, which I cannot counter because that is your sovereign decision, I am only going to have to agree with that and I will have the consequences of it. That is, if they are a fortress under siege for the moment and I am a strip of land across which these masses of refugees are proceeding to this fortress as a paradise on earth, and that is where they want to break into at any cost, they only pass through my country.

But now, once they completely lock themselves up, it will be an impregnable fortress, then this preceding, transit country will now become attractive. I cannot say how many people are going to think: Well, I failed in Germany, so well, here it is better than in Bangladesh, better than in Pakistan, better that in Kazakhstan...

[Correspondent, interrupting] ...Sri Lanka.

[Zimowski] That's right, in Sri Lanka...then I may as well get a foothold here, then I will at least have a roof over my head and food, while over there I might not have even those things. So here I have a chance to survive, while there I might have to fight right on the brink.

[Correspondent] Are we prepared for such a potential influx?

[Zimowski] Well, it's too bad, all of Europe has these problems right now. The Germans altogether have 3.5 million foreigners, France has about 5 million foreigners, other countries also have appropriate shares. It is a pan-European problem. This advance by the poor south and east at the rich western Europe is, well, a sign of the times.

[Correspondent] Before the Budapest meeting—in which will be taking part representatives of other countries which also might be affected by the amendments to the asylum law in Germany—these will probably include the Czechs, the Austrians, the Hungarians; what do you expect, will these countries form a common front?

[Zimowski] There are already indications that we would like to establish a common front. This is not a front directed against the Germans, lest there be any doubts. It would rather be a sort of a common front which together with the European Community would try to resolve these issues globally. Because what is the paradox of these new legal solutions? Because to all intents and purposes they will be the same throughout Europe. What will happen will be that these richest countries through this legislation will lock their doors to these asylum seekers. Indeed it will be a glass mountain which they won't be able to conquer.

So what next? I shall have to introduce the same legislation in my country. In connection with this this whole burden of this influx of these emigres from the poor countries, from the undemocratic countries to the democratic ones will fall on these countries which neighbour these areas of indigence, poverty and lack of democracy, these undemocratic regimes. But whenever I look at Ukraine, Slovakia, or Belarus, well, will these countries withstand invasions by millions, if I, for instance, were to lock my doors right now—and I am going to have to do so at some future stage—and would these countries stand up to it? They are having difficulties with democracy, with economy, just like I am having at the moment, which is what I keep shouting in Bonn, that I have such terrible difficulties that I may have inhibitions in these difficult political and social processes which are taking place in Poland.

Well, you cannot move this onto the shoulders of these countries, onto this European doughnut. Instead the whole of Europe should come to an arrangement and spread out the costs of a migration of this kind, recognize that political emigres—all right, they get care and a roof over their heads, adaptation processes, well, that's a civilizational achievement, that's already a universal law, we too signed the Convention on Protection of Human Rights, the Human Rights Charter and so on, there is no doubt as to that. But what will happen in the future? Under the guise of political refugees there in fact exist emigration refugees, economic refugees. People want to improve their standard of living or even to save themselves. Of course now a third category has come in, war refugees, including from Yugoslavia.

So Europe, well, has to assume that we accept political refugees. But what with the emigres? First, Europe should go to the root of this process, control it and limit it, that is provide aid to these regions which generate emigration of this kind. Secondly, if we assume that from some sort of Pakistan, or Sri Lanka, or Ukraine, or Russia, or wherever else there will be emigration, we should set emigration quotas, who takes how many in. Let us agree the sharing of the costs. If the Germans spend, for instance, several billion, well let them give say a fifth of that to other countries which would take some of these migration obligations upon themselves. There is such an agreement, for instance, with Yugoslav refugees, quotas have been set, who takes how many in.

In any case Germany and Hungary have the biggest share, although of course there is participation in these costs by international organizations, by European organizations. Well, the Germans, as it happens, get nothing, because everyone thinks they are rich. But the Hungarians do and other countries too get helped. But such an agreement must take place in Europe, this kind of common emigration policy and the attribution of these costs, it is called [words indistinct], this also has to take place and simply this is an opportunity to resolve this difficult problem.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. I remind you that I was talking to Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski.

Bulgarian Minister Supports Repatriation

AU1502165393 Sofia BTA in English 1600 GMT 15 Feb 93

["Exclusive" report by Radka Noneva]

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (BTA)—At a European conference on illegal migration which started here today, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior Viktor Mikhaylov, who leads the Bulgarian delegation, stressed that Bulgaria shows interest in "the regulation of the repatriation of persons illegally residing abroad through new bilateral or multilateral agreements, or through accession to effective multilateral accords."

Viktor Mikhaylov said the enforcement of these agreements, involving the influx of large groups of people, causes problems for Bulgaria due to unemployment, social tensions and the lack of funds for their retraining. That is why, he said, "the Bulgarian Government joins the proposal for a just distribution of responsibilities in the enforcement of the measures among the participants in the Berlin process."

Bulgarian experts have taken part in the drafting of a section of the document, which is being discussed at the conference, on the repatriation of illegal aliens.

Albanian, Greek Officials on Refugees

AU1702152493 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—The European conference on illegal emigration is holding its proceedings in Budapest recently. On February 16, the Albanian representative, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Public Order Bashkim Kopliku met with his Greek counterpart Mr. Nikolaos Gelestathis as it was planned. They focused on the problem of the deportation of the Albanian refugees. The two ministers expressed the readiness of the two governments for understanding and good desire to extend the friendly relations between the two countries. Speaking of the Albanian emigration to Greece, Mr. Kopliku said that under the difficult economic circumstances this emigration is a major contribution to the Albanian families. Under such circumstances he said that it is necessary to see to the possibility of providing the Albanian refugees with identification documents. This would have its impact on reducing the cases of violation of the law. Mr. Kopliku said that the Albanian party is seriously involved and utilizes all the possibilities to contribute to the fight against violation of law and criminality. In this context he also provided concrete solution to this issue.

Expressing the commitment of his government and Mr. Mitsotakis personally, Mr. Gelestathis said that they would stop the mass deportation of emigrants [as received]. Meanwhile the foreign ministries of the two countries will find a solution to the problem. Thanking Mr. Gelestathis for understanding, Mr. Kopliku expressed his desire to meet again.

Albania's Kopliku on Migration Issues

AU1702193293 Tirana ATA in English 1911 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—On February 16 before noon, Bashkim Kopliku, Albanian minister of order, took the floor at the meeting on illegal migration held in Budapest. He said among the other things:

For almost 50 years, one of the most severe types of communism, the worst form of totalitarianism known in the tragic history of Eastern Europe was implemented in Albania. The extreme self-isolation policy had tragic consequences on the Albanian people. The fall of communism guaranteed the Albanians the freedom of movement. Many Albanians left the country because of the economic hardships and in search of a better future outside Albania.

If we will try to fight illegal emigration only by means of police measures, then we will certainly experience the consequences of such an act. It is good to stop it mainly by adopting social and economic measures.

I would like to address all the European countries, particularly Italy, Greece, Germany, and France and others to facilitate the procedures of giving visas for the Albanians. I am sure that such a thing would reduce to a considerable extent the illegal migration of my fellow citizens.

I proposed the European states where Albanian emigrants are living to accept them and legalize their stay. This is to be done by providing them with the necessary documents.

The democratic Albania will devote the necessary attention to the recommendations and suggestions of this conference and will fulfill the obligations on the basis of its documents.

Mr. Bashkim Kopliku met and held talks with some personalities as Anne Marie Dammer, directress of the Regional Bureau of the UN Refugees Supreme Commission for Europe; Dr. Loeschnak, bundesminister [interior minister] of Austria, Mr. Seiters, bundesminister of Germany; Mr. Viktor Mikhaylov, Bulgarian minister of the interior; Mr. Ivo Bizjak, minister of order of Slovenia; and representatives of the Ministry of Order of France and Italy.

Also attending the conference and meetings was Lisen Bashkurti, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Albania in Hungary.

Slovaks, Hungarians Hold Talks on Power Projects

LD1202214293 Bratislava Slovak 2 Telelvision Network in Slovak 1610 GMT 12 Feb 93

[News conference via Bratislava-Budapest telebridge with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky; Jeszenszky speaks in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified journalist in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation] There seem to be a lot of difficulties concerning Slovak-Hungarian relations. The ministers have talked of some of them already. However, Gabcikovo [hydroproject on the Danube] has not been mentioned yet. It is a known fact that the EC got involved in the matter and that they prepared a proposal which Hungary is ready to accept. Slovakia, however, submitted its own proposal last week, which in my opinion gives an indication that there might be problems in Bratislava, there might presumably be opposition against the EC proposals. I would like to ask Minister Knazko whether the talks really concerned this and whether Slovakia, just like Hungary, is willing to accept the EC proposals.

[Knazko] In the case of the hydro-project, or in the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydro-projects, it is an exceptionally complex problem of technological, environmental, international-legal, power-production, and other features. I do not think that in today's broadcast we shall be able to put forward any matter-of-fact arguments for this complex project. This would really demand a series of broadcasts.

I would only like to remark that we will hold a meeting in Brussels next week. Hungarian and Slovak politicians and experts will be present again, as will be EC officials. I believe that every talk, every discussion is a step forward to the final goal. It is a step towards understanding.

I could now start listing environmental reasons for why there is less water and why even if the whole river-bed of the Danube were to flow in the original river-bed would not resolve the environmental situation, because the Danube level has dropped in the last ten years by more than 1.5 meters. That is the reason the level of groundwater also fell.

However, I do not want to go into technical details of this project. I would only like to remark in the end that the Danube is an international river. Hence, the solution to one of the dozens of dams on the river—of which Gabcikovo-Nagymaros is only one—should be a task for the experts. In no event should we allow for this to become a bilateral problem between Slovakia and Hungary, and even more, a political bilateral problem. It is an international, technical, specialized problem and I would suggest to approach it as such.

We shall do our best so that a solution is found which is acceptable both politically and technically to both sides and which will thus bring the least possible damage in both the political and environmental sense. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified journalist in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation] The only question I would like to put to our minister is when will the Hungarian Government ask for its hands to be untied, because they have been tied since the parliament made the decision to abrogate the agreement.

[Jeszenszky] I do not think we have our hands tied; thus, we do not need to try to have them untied. [passage omitted]

Our view is that the entire idea of this power station is wrong and it would be best that it did not exist at all. In fact, when we are protecting our supply of drinking water and its quality and saying that the Danube should flow in its original river bed it is neither in the defense of Hungarian interests nor a political trend. In this way we are defending the interests of our population on both sides of the Danube. [passage omitted]

We keep recommending to both sides a discussion on this issue once again on the level of experts from both sides; we should refrain from any other discussions until those experts express their views. [passage omitted]

I think that the Hungarian side has shown enormous patience. I think it is important that in the forthcoming talks in Brussels next week Slovakia accepts the compromise which is being supported by both Hungary and the European Community. The next round is thus in Brussels next week. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified journalist in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation] I have one question for the Slovak foreign minister. If I am not mistaken a decision had been made in Slovakia to remove Hungarian names from the signs in villages and towns, and that if these are not removed those who did not remove them will be removed. I think that the Bratislava SMER [regional daily published in Banska Bystrica] discussed this issue and called it political shortsightedness. What is your view on this, Foreign Minister?

[Knazko] Undoubtedly, this symptom might testify to a policy which is not very positive towards ethnic minorities, but let me explain. This concerns some traffic signs that are not in harmony with the law, or signs that do not contain the original name of this or that village or town. I am sure that the radical statements of the kind that you mentioned a while ago did not and do not come out of the mouths of responsible politicians. They probably appeared in newspapers, but it is a form which is not binding for a political solution. This returns us to the theme of ethnic minorities. If I may, I would like to say a few more words on this issue: Unequivocally, we in Slovakia, regard ethnic minorities as one of our riches—spiritual, traditional, and cultural. We are trying to

cultivate and develop them. We have a great number of cultural institutions also for citizens of Hungarian origin. We have a great number of schools, two professional theaters, and other features. I would like to conclude by saying that maybe a better law could be drafted than the one we adhere to at present, and maybe better laws will be drafted somewhere. But the important thing is how these laws are put into practice. Let me note that out of a few hundred thousand-strong Hungarian ethnic minority that remained in Slovakia after the Second World War—and likewise a Slovak minority in Hungary—today 560,000 Hungarians living in Slovakia claim to be of Hungarian origin, and 9,000 Slovaks living in Hungary claim to be of Slovak origin. It means that a mistake must have been made somewhere.

At the moment I am not in a position to recriminate, but the fact that the number of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia has grown is undoubtedly proof of good practice. I would be very glad if the number of other ethnic minorities in other countries of this region was also rising regardless of what laws have been passed. To put it succinctly, such conditions and such practices should be created so that this phenomenon that we in Slovakia accept with real joy could also be accepted in other countries with joy.

[Unidentified journalist in Hungarian with superimposed Slovak translation] At the end of this week we are expecting Mr. Knazko in Debrecen. I would like to ask whether he is really coming, and I think he knows why I am asking this question because recently there has been certain criticism of his ministry's activities and there have also been rumors that he might be considering his resignation.

[Knazko] There certainly is no connection between the Debrecen meeting and certain ungrounded or unqualified doubts about the activities of our ministry. At the beginning I would like to say that I am not considering my resignation at all, because there is no reason to do so. There is a lot of work ahead and I am glad that I am surrounded by a team of capable people who know how to solve problems in a proper way.

On the other hand, as far as the Debrecen meeting is concerned, there is one main technical difficulty. Slovakia has been in existence as a sovereign state for seven weeks now but Slovak regions, as legal entities, simply do not exist. Our mayors and representatives of individual towns and villages can establish certain contacts, but they cannot vouch for territorial entities like regions in the right sense of the word. Therefore, it will be necessary to postpone the launching of this regional cooperation until the institutionalization of regions because, as our public in Slovakia certainly knows, the regionalization of Slovakia is still in the preparatory stage. Its new administrative division, including the decentralization of state power also in the economic sense is only in the project phase. I firmly believe that it will be implemented in 1994 and that the coming communal elections will be to the bodies of these new regions. We, alas, cannot bypass this stage of development of Slovak structures and we cannot therefore bind ourselves to activities to which we are not entitled by our existing legislation. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] Personally I am very sorry that I shall not be able to meet Minister Knazko on Sunday [14 Febuary]. I understand these difficulties and we understand the difficulties of the new Slovak state. In any event we are ready to support you. When we met in Budapest and Bratislava in September we stressed this very clearly, and we very clearly stated what we expected from Slovakia and what we would not like to see. I think that our relations could develop well if they are based on mutual trust.

Cabinet Discusses 1993 Budget Bill

AU1702152293 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers convened on February 15 to discuss the draft law on the state budget for 1993. Many of the officials of the departments, although aware of the difficult finance situation, required the increase of the budget allocated by the Ministry of Finance and Economy. They substantiated this request by presenting their needs which they considered necessary expenditure. Genc Ruli, minister of finance and economy, said that it is necessary to implement an anti-inflationist policy. The government must proceed from the needs of each ministry to allocate the funds, said Mr. Ruli. Every member of the government must consider the supplementary income as increase of the budget. The Albanian finance minister also suggested that apart from the requests for state budget increase, each ministry must see to the possibilities to augment its own income.

The Council of Ministers agreed to endorse the draft law on the budget at the next meeting after examining the requests submitted at this meeting.

Assembly Views Bills, Labor Contract Law

AU1602153793 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—Yesterday, the People's Assembly discussed in parliamentary groups and permanent commissions about the draft laws on veterinary service and inspectoriate, on the return and compensation for the former properties, and the Law on the Collective Work Contract, which was sent back to the parliament by the president of the Republic.

The assembly will continue proceedings in plenary sitting.

Arms Trafficking Rumored in Tirana

AU1702132293 Tirana ATA in English 1307 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—Rumors have been circulating in Tirana for some time regarding a very dangerous clandestine business, arms trafficking. These rumors have not deen officially confirmed because no facts have been found on this matter.

In the No.3 police station the ATA reporter learned that police had detained Saimir Adem Onuzi, 21, on February 13 because, in cooperation with another unidentified person, he sold to Ivi Sami Dervishi, 24, living in Tirana, a Czech unregistered pistol, at a price of 650 marks and a video.

This fact proves that clandestine business of arms in Tirana exists.

Defense Minister Briefs U.S. Envoy on Training

AU1702152793 Tirana ATA in English 1310 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—The new training year opened in Morave Division on February 16. Attending the ceremony on the occasion were Safet Zhulali, minister of defence, and Colonel Nortun [as received], responsible for U.S. military attaches in Europe.

They met at the headquarters of the division with the Commander Shkelqim Nure who briefed them on the organization and preparatory work for the beginning of the new training year.

Safet Zhulali and other military staff members went to the brigade of the tanks of this division. Greeting on behalf of the President Sali Berisha, General Commander of Albanian Armed Forces Mr. Zhulali said that we will modernize the Army and the defence of the homeland. We will attach particular importance to the training of troops so that they be ready to defend Albania. Presently, he said, the Army leads the democratic reform under way in Albania and it also enjoys the people's confidence. The final stage of restructuring the Army will also be a success, like the first one, he said because we also have the U.S. and European help. We have talented officers who are working with devotion in this regard as well.

Commission Reports on Ministry Bugging

AU1702192193 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 17 Nov 92 p 4

[Report on the conclusions of the Assembly Commission on the Bugging of the Foreign Ministry, made up of Abdi Baleta, Petrit Kalakula, Luan Skuqi, Tonin Alimehilli, Haxhi Aliko, Alfred Paloka, Luan Hajdaraga (only the two Socialist deputies did not sign the commission results): "The Foreign Minister Was Bugged"]

[Text] At the beginning of June this year the public was scandalized by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi's public statement about a surveillance system that was detected in his office and in two working halls of the ministry.

This problem aroused discussions and opinions among groups with different and even conflicting political interests. On the other hand, if it were proven it would mean that an immoral and illegal act had been committed.

That is why parliament considered it reasonable to vote for the setting up of a commission to discover the truth about the bugging affair at the Foreign Ministry.

The commission made up of Messrs. Abdi Baleta, Alfred Paloka, Petrit Kalakula, Luan Hajdaraga, Haxhi Aliko, Luan Skuqi, and Tonin Alimehilli was put together, and it did not start work until 31 August 1992. The goal of the commission was to verify Mr. Alfred Serreqi's statement in parliament about the organization of the secret

surveillance at the Foreign Ministry and consider the way, the dynamics, and the objectivity of the handling of this problem, so as to reach a fair conclusion by the specialized bodies and clarify this question to the public.

The investigation of this problem was carried out by verification and joint analysis by the commission through discussions and questions put to the foreign minister, as well as by studying the reports at the Investigation and Prosecutor' Offices. On 1 September 1992, the parliamentary commission set up for this held a meeting with Mr. Alfred Serreqi and his deputy, Mr. Arian Starova. The meeting was held at the office of the minister, who informed us in detail about the problem. The bugging question originated exactly 48 days after Mr. Serreqi took office as foreign minister. On 3 June, Kujtim Xhani, the new protocol chief at the ministry, was informed by his predecessor Kostaq Cifliku, who was handing over to him, about a surveillance system installed in the minister's office and in two halls used for receptions. This system ended at a terminal room in the floor above, but no employee from this ministry knew whether or not this room existed, and even less what it was used for.

The Investigation Office data say that the equipment was installed in 1981 when Nesti Nase was the foreign minister. He declares that had received an oral order from Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu [former prime minister under Hoxha] to install recording equipment at the existing Foreign Ministry building so as to record talks with foreigners for the archives.

This equipment was bought abroad and installed by an Interior Ministry employee who delivered a receipt by hand to Jovan Antoni, chief of protocol of that ministry.

The initial installation consisted of a microphone on the table in Hall No. 1 on the first floor and a UHER type tape recorder, which was in the next room on the same floor. Jovan Antoni, who operated this equipment, stated:

"At that time only talks with foreigners were recorded. By order of the former minister, these talks were then transcribed by the typist Svjetllana Rroku.

"At that time there were no regulations or internal instructions about the way and goal of using this system."

In June 1982, Nesti Nase handed over to Reiz Malile. He did not tell him anything about this equipment, as the latter already knew about it as deputy foreign minister.

At that time there were three microphones in Hall No. 1 and two UHER tape recorders were in use.

Later Jovan Antoni personally extended the cable from the first floor to the second, where records were made in the same manner.

In August 1985, Jovan Antoni was appointed to another position and he handed over the keys of this mysterious office to Sokrat Plaka, the then deputy minister. One month after Kostaq Cifliku started work as chief of the protocol, Plaka summoned him to give the keys. Dashnor Antoni, Jovan Antoni's son, instructed him in how to use this equipment.

In 1987, that is after Kostaq Cifliku had worked there for two years, Reiz Malile ordered the installation of this system in Hall No. Two on the first floor. The microphone was in a vase of artificial flowers.

In 1989, by order of the former minister Reiz Malile, a Council of Ministers' employee established the connection from the mysterious room on the second floor through to the minister's office. Through this, the minister eavesdropped on conversations that took place in both halls on the first floor.

In 1990, former minister Reiz Malile requested the installation of an UHER tape recorder in the secretary's office so as to be able to record talks held in his office. This tape recorder was operated from the secretary's office. After being discharged, Reiz Malile explained that he had informed his successor Muhamet Kapllani about it. The latter did not accept any such thing and claimed that he had no idea about this system of surveillance. The Investigation Office has not yet confronted Kapllani and Cifliku about this problem.

Ilir Bocka, too, who replaced Muhamet Kapllani as minister, denies having known about such a surveillance system, though the protocol chief Kostaq Cifliku explains that he informed him and asked him what was to be done with this equipment. The investigation of the procedure by the investigators and the statements by those who are mentioned in this affair indicate that no one informed minister Alfred Serreqi about the existence of this equipment. However, 48 days after his appointment to this post, Kostaq Cifliku was dismissed as protocol chief. Cifliku told Kujtim Xhani, who replaced him in this post, about the existence of the surveillance equipment. On the same date, 3 June 1992, Kujtim Xhani informed [then deputy foreign minister] Mehill Marku and he, on 5 June, informed the minister.

The electronic engineers inspected this equipment to determine its type and how it functioned. They said that it was recording equipment. As to whether it was used for eavesdropping or not, the experts said that this depended on what use it was put to, as it could also be used for this purpose.

Listening to the reports and considering the documentation and pictures, the parliamentary commission gave the impression that the system was secret. The manner and location of the microphones indicate this. In Hall No. One, the microphone was placed behind a decorative piece of wood covering the wall, in Hall No. 2 it was hidden in a vase of artificial flowers, whereas in Mr. Serreqi's office the microphone was placed near the heating vents, which were covered by a metal grid.

Installing the system at the Foreign Ministry was immoral and illegal, not only because of the place, but also because the ministry employees had no idea about it. For the over 11 years that this system was in place, these employees worked and communicated in halls that were being bugged.

On the other hand, foreign and Albanian interlocutors were victims of auditory surveillance. The use of this system was not based on any law or regulation, but in the hands of one or two people, who exploited it with their abilities and sense. It still remains very dubious as to where this non-institutional information ended, whether at home or abroad. This is shown by the fact that for 11 and a half years the recorded tapes were administered with no official regulation. They were not officially recorded, transcribed, or archived according to the rules, at a time when this practice was the law in the administration of this ministry even for the most minor documents.

The dubious results of the materials recorded under this system constitute a flagrant violation of the law. This is also shown by the fact that only 42 recorded tapes were found in the secret room, although over 11 and a half years, however isolated we were, the meetings with ambassadors and foreigners were not so few as to make up this figure. That in 1989 somebody broke into this mysterious office to steal them is quite unbelievable, since there was a state security department located on that floor of the Foreign Ministry. That is why this entitles one to think that the theft was an organized trick to dispose of the more important tapes and to justify the secret materials that have come out of the ministry to benefit the security apparatus or the states to which we were ideologically linked, or to compromise members of the diplomatic corps or local and foreign personalities.

Internal corruption in this ministry consists not only of illegal eavesdropping with non-inventoried and very sophisticated equipment, but also involves violent inspections such as the forcible opening of the safe of former minister Muhamet Kapllani. This happened on 13 September 1991, four months after another attempt had been made on this safe, on 5 July 1991.

This shows that the power of the shadow men, of the notorious state security officers, was operating above the state, above morality, and above the law.

By denouncing the surveillance system, Minister Serreqi publicly accused and denounced the illegal corruption at the Foreign Ministry. On the other hand, in referring to expert specialists whose conclusions we have given above, we are right to doubt that Mr. Serreqi may have been bugged for 48 days. Thus the foreign minister's denouncement was accurate, true, and useful.

In conclusion, we criticize the prosecution bodies for their slow action following the known practice of leaving the case suspended after one of those involved had gone abroad. In the meantime, the Investigation Office should have used triple and not double confrontations to determine the extent of the corruption. This office should have treated this question not only in terms of a crime and the abuse of authority on the part of a single person, but also as negligence in the administration of state secrets, including the use of psychological pressure against officials.

The Investigation Office should go deep in relating the events, such as the attempt on and the opening of the safe, the robbery of the surveillance room, and the installation of the secret surveillance system in high-level state institutions.

Control Service Analyzes Work, Views Problems

AU1602170493 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—On February 15 the work of the state control service for May-December 1992 was analyzed. Attending were directors of the control of the central departments, chiefs of control sections from 36 districts, as well as officials of the financial police.

This analysis focused on the pressing problems facing this service at the period of transition in the fight against corruption and crime in economy and the violation of the economic laws. The state control service exercised control in 101 economic enterprises, seven joint ventures, 13 budget institutions, the privatization agencies in seven districts, six banks, etc. As a result, 820 million leks have been deposited in the state budget. Emphasis was put on the control of the state administration. The analysis revealed that the Prosecutors' Office has not given the proper support to the structures of the state control. Only four out of 86 persons denounced until now have been sentenced.

Ministry Greets U.S. Efforts on Yugoslav Crisis

AU1702185893 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 17 Feb 93

["Bulgaria Greets U.S. Readiness for More Active Role in Finding Political Solution to Yugocrisis"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry today greeted the readiness of the U.S. Administration to be more active in finding a political solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The Foreign Ministry greeted the U.S. Administration's direct commitment to this effort. As a country neighbouring on the former Yugoslavia, the prevention of the conflict's expansion is decidedly in Bulgaria's interest. The United States, the European Community, the United Nations and other interested European countries can draw on what has been achieved in the context of the Vance-Owen plan. "We share the view that Russia should take a more active part in this effort," the document says. To attain lasting peace, the ultimate solution should be acceptable to all sides to the conflict. "We greet the readiness of the United States to help guarantee a peace settlement. NATO, as well as CSCE member countries, could join these efforts through peacekeeping operations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia on a mandate of the United Nations and the CSCE," the document says.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry attaches special importance to the readiness of the U.S. Administration to strengthen the international presence in the Republic of Macedonia as an important guarantee that the conflict will not spread into its territory.

Zhelev Gives U.S. Ambassador Message for Clinton

AU1702194293 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev today received U.S. Ambassador Hugh Kenneth Hill, the presidential spokesman said.

The Bulgarian president highly praised the position adopted by the Clinton Administration on the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and expressed his hope that this position would help stop hostilities and resolve the conflict sooner. The U.S. stand on this matter will stimulate the European and the world institutions and structures to commit themselves more actively to stop the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, Dr. Zhelev said.

Bilateral relations were high on the agenda of the talks. The U.S. ambassador expressed his conviction that Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet is democratic and is energetically carrying on the reforms. He said the United States will extend its assistance to the cabinet, especially in the process of the land reform.

The Bulgarian president asked Mr. Hill, who will shortly go to the United States, to convey a message to President Bill Clinton.

Turkish President Ozal Continues Official Visit

Talks With Parliament Factions, Dogan

AU1602154693 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Iva Toncheva report]

[Excerpt] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—[Passage omitted] The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] M.P.'s [members of parliament] told Mr. Ozal they were pleased with the vigorous promotion of Bulgarian-Turkish relations over the last two years. "However, quite a few problems remain: border delimitation, visa requirements, heavy armed force imbalances," BSP leader Zhan Videnov said after the meeting, adding that these problems can be solved if efforts are made to build bilateral confidence. The Turkish head of state and the BSP M.P.'s focused on the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Socialists believe that the conflict should be settled by peaceful means under the auspices of the international institutions.

DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] leader Ahmed Dogan said that the members of his parliamentary faction and the Turkish president discussed the need to prevent the expansion of hostilities southward to Sandzhak, Kosovo and Macedonia. In connection with the official Bulgarian position that no Balkan state or state neighbouring on the former Yugoslavia should commit force to an intervention for the settlement of the conflict there, the DPS leader indicated that this question has yet to be considered. "When there is fire in a yard, it must not be moved to the next door yard," Mr. Dogan said. "I am not sure that if a fire breaks out in Macedonia we will not intervene," the DPS leader said. In his view, the active neutrality, which Bulgaria observes, may imply the taking of an active position. Mr. Yunal Lyutfi M.P. of the DPS pointed out that Bulgaria's readiness for possible extended operations rather than intervention is an option which should not be ignored. Asked to comment on a statement which Mr. Ozal made shortly before leaving for Sofia, that Turkey is the only country in the Balkans which can secure regional peace, Mr. Lyutfi described this as "a reality." "Strengthening of relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, as well as between Turkey and the other Balkan countries is a guarantee of peace and calm in the Balkans," Mr. Lyutfi said. President Ozal promised the DPS M.P.'s that his report on the visit to Sofia would raise the matter of providing loan aid to Bulgaria.

Outside his official schedule this morning, the Turkish president met with mayors of villages with compact Turkish communities. He showed interest in the land reform and marketization in those areas.

Meets Businessmen

AU1602175493 Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—Later in the day, the Turkish president met with Bulgarian and Turkish businessmen. At the meeting, organized by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the businessmen briefed each other on the two countries' customs, import and export regulations. Mr. Ozal familiarized the businessmen with the economic policy of the Turkish Government. "Bulgaria is living through a hard period of economic transition, but I believe that it can show the fastest growth in the Balkans," the Turkish president said. In his view, Bulgaria and Turkey have many things in common and it would be only natural to cooperate.

Mr. Ozal spoke in favour of simplified visa requirements for travel between the two countries and for the promotion of crossborder trade.

Says Talks 'Beneficial and Important'

TA1602192093 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] President Turgut Ozal had this to say to TRT [Turkish Radio and Television] about his contacts in Sofia:

[Begin Ozal recording] I believe that my talks today were extremely beneficial and important, especially in clarifying certain matters. Our visit is continuing very positively. My colleagues and I are extremely pleased with the course of the trip. [end recording]

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, in his statement, expressed pleasure over Ozal's visit. He said: This visit constitutes only one part of a more extensive trip, including the United States, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, and Croatia. As far as we can gather from the talks, the visit is aimed at urging the United States and Europe to adopt a more energetic, concrete, and decisive attitude against the military discord in former Yugoslavia. We believe that this is a very timely move. From this viewpoint, we consider Mr. Ozal's initiative positive, and we support it.

Issues Statement on Relations

AU1602214493 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 16 Feb 93x

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—In their statements made for the Bulgarian National Television, both President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and President Turgut Ozal of Turkey assessed the relations between the two countries as good. President Turgut Ozal, who arrived on an official visit to Bulgaria yesterday, stressed there are no serious problems between Bulgaria and Turkey. In his opinion, Bulgarian-Turkish cooperation has excellent prospects. The two countries' cooperation develops very well in all fields, President Zhelev said. He said that Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel was expected to visit Bulgaria shortly.

Invited to comment on the situation in the Balkans, the two presidents presented their positions.

Turkish President Turgut Ozal expressed his hope that the U.S. initiative would help put an end to the tragedy in Bosnia. It should be ended the soonest possible by peaceful means, if this is not possible, then the United Nations should give the aggressor a lesson as it happened in Kuwait, the Turkish president said. If the tragedy is not stopped, the Balkans will probably have to face much more serious problems, he warned.

A change in the status quo in the Balkans is impossible, the existing borders cannot be changed by force, Turkish President Turgut Ozal said in reply to a question and underlined that Turkey has no territorial claims in the region.

Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev stressed that the European and world structures should take more energetic actions to end the bloodbath in the former Yugoslavia which looks very much like a Balkan Lebanon. If vigorous actions are not taken, the war could spread to Kosovo and Macedonia dragging in Yugoslavia's Balkan neighbours, the Bulgarian president said. He underlined once again that Bulgaria must not take part in any military operations for resolving the crisis—neither by providing troops nor by providing weapons. What is more, Bulgaria appeals to all Balkan countries not to participate in a military settlement of the conflict because this would inevitably touch off a Balkan war, the Bulgarian president said.

Comments on Bosnia, Bilateral Ties

TA1702093893 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 0530 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] President Turgut Ozal has said that he is making his Balkan tour at a time when tragic developments are taking place in Yugoslavia and has expressed the hope that his visit will contribute to ending these tragic incidents. Ozal hosted a dinner yesterday evening in Sofia, the first leg of his Balkan tour, in honor of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. Ozal invited Zhelev to visit Turkey at his earliest opportunity.

Zhelev said that the blood of innocent people is being shed in former Yugoslavia and that over 2 million people have been forced to migrate. Noting that many women and children are being raped, Zhelev said that this situation cannot be tolerated. Pointing out that Bulgaria is against armed involvement by Bulgaria or any other Balkan country in the clashes in former Yugoslavia, Zhelev added, however, that his country is not categorically opposed to an intervention within the framework of European countries or the United Nations.

The Bulgarian president stressed that Turkish-Bulgarian relations in the military, political, and other fields are

good. Zhelev said that cooperation within the framework of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Project is increasing and expressed the hope that it will continue to do so in the future.

Ozal will hold a joint news conference with Zhelev today and will then leave for Macedonia.

Gives Final News Conference

AU1702123693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Maya Boneva report on news conference given by Presidents Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and Turgut Ozal of Turkey in Sofia on 17 February; includes recorded excerpt of statement by Zhelev—recorded]

[Text] The two presidents made short statements in which they explained their positions on the bilateral and general political problems that they had discussed during these three very beneficial days, as the presidents themselves described them.

Speaking about his talks with President Ozal, Dr. Zhelev stressed the optimism he felt concerning the results achieved from contacts of this kind. At the very least, diplomatic dialogue and support for the decisions of the great powers can only assist in settling the problems in our region more quickly, he said.

[Zhelev] The people in our countries, who live in this region, are naturally directly affected by the tragic events, and at the same time display acute interest in solving this problem. I believe that in the future this activity will prompt both the world organizations and the European structures—the CSCE and NATO—to adopt a more resolute position and to commit themselves in a more categorical way to settling this conflict, which is a disgrace for the end of the 20th century.

[Boneva] Later, President Zhelev laid emphasis on the increasing possibilities opened up by direct meetings and talks, and the complete trust and transparency that are needed in relations to ensure good, mutually beneficial cooperation.

For his part, Turkish President Ozal expressed his satisfaction with his stay in Bulgaria and stated that it is best for those who have common problems to join together in seeking ways to solve them. He expressed thanks for the warm reception and the fruitful talks, and voiced the hope that in the future our relations will improve even more, both at the parliamentary level and in all spheres of the economy.

Turgut Ozal also said that hopes that President Zhelev would return his visit in the very near future, and said that from now on a more direct and permanent link would be established between Bulgaria and Turkey.

I will mention only one of the numerous questions asked by the journalists, which asked President Zhelev about his attitude to a possible future Islamic-Slavonic axis. We are against axes, the president said. All axes can only be harmful; we live in a different political epoch, in a different climate, and the formation of axes is unnecessary. We will cooperate in the military field as in all other areas of life.

Ends Visit, Departs Sofia

AU1702133293 Sofia BTA in English 1247 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—Presidents Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and Turgut Ozal of Turkey today expressed respect for the initiative of the new U.S. Administration on a settlement of the Yugocrisis. The two heads of state were speaking at a news conference at the end of Mr. Ozal's visit to Sofia which started Monday [15 Febraury]. The Turkish president today left for Skopje, the next stop on his Balkan tour.

"This is a clear and firm position which opens an opportunity for even firmer action if diplomacy does not work," Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev said, commenting on the U.S. initiative. "We approve of the American position that Russia should also be enlisted in the settlement of the conflict," Dr. Zhelev said. "The tragedy in Bosnia-Hercegovina must end as soon as possible," the Turkish president emphasized, sharing Dr. Zhelev's support for the U.S. initiative. Mr. Ozal also believes that being one of the strongest countries in the region, Russia cannot stay indifferent to the Bosnian tragedy.

President Zhelev reiterated the Bulgarian position that Bulgaria will not commit armed force to the settlement of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and insists that all Balkan countries and ex-Yugoslav neighbours stay out of the conflict. "Turkey does not border on the former Yugoslavia but because of old conflicts, Serbian propaganda could easily capitalize on these things, that is why we call on Turkey to refrain from military intervention," Dr. Zhelev said. For his part, the Turkish president observed that there is no reason why Turkey should attack Yugoslavia on its own. Mr. Ozal emphasized that the Turkish intervention will come within the framework of a UN resolution. "But we don't know exactly how this is going to happen," he pointed out. Asked about Bulgaria's reaction to a possible Turkish intervention in the former Yugoslavia, President Zhelev expressed the hope that the two countries will still reach common understanding and will not act in a different way. According to the Bulgarian head of state, Turkey's position does not imply a decision to go to war at any cost, he sees it as a firm commitment to a speedier international settlement of the conflict.

Apart from the Balkan conflict, bilateral contacts and Black Sea economic cooperation had also been on the two presidents' agenda. Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Ozal are pleased with the progress of bilateral relations over the last two years. The two countries will soon sign agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and reciprocal investment promotion. They are negotiating the

opening of a new 50 million dollar credit line by the Turkish Eximbank. More comprehensive cross-border trade is being contemplated. Both presidents emphasized that trade and economic cooperation needs invigoration.

President Zhelev stressed his view that Bulgaria's desire to integrate into the European economic structures is not inconsistent with its participation in Black Sea economic cooperation. Discussing Black Sea economic cooperation, Turkish President Turgut Ozal said that the former Yugoslavia will join it, too. "Ethnic and religious problems will be eliminated in this way," President Ozal said. Interviewed on national television last night, he indicated that economic cooperation in the Black Sea region is no alternative to European economic cooperation.

Presidents Zhelev and Ozal also spoke about the recently activating Bulgarian-Turkish military cooperation. Asked whether the two countries are not orienting towards a durable alliance, President Zhelev stressed that axes are harmful in this part of Europe. "At a time when there is a European Community and a CSCE, axis policy is undesirable," the Bulgarian president said, adding that Bulgaria and Turkey will be expanding their defence cooperation. "Some asymmetry has lingered from the past, when the Warsaw Pact existed, and the two countries are expected to do a lot about it, especially our partners," Dr. Zhelev said.

Asked why Turgut Ozal did not meet with Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, President Zhelev said that there was no ill intention or prejudice on the part of Prof. Berov. Urgent engagements at the Council of Ministers on Monday and the impossibility to change President Ozal's schedule yesterday prevented the meeting between the two statesmen.

Ozal's Visit Seen as Sign of Turkish 'Hegemony'

AU1702143093 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by Prof. Ilcho Dimitrov: "Hegemony Is Casting Its Shadow Over the Balkans"]

[Excerpts] It was from the statements of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] leader that we first learned that the visit of the Turkish head of state, which was arranged a long time ago, is actually expected to take place. I am not over-enthusiastic about the self-appointed, double role which the "movement" party has assumed, namely to be a balancing factor in domestic policy and a mediator in international relations. The only reason we have to be pleased about Mr. Ozal's visit is the fact that it demonstrates good neighborly relations and cooperation, based on equal rights, for the sake of the common interests of peace and understanding in the Balkans. Although I am aware of the increasingly important role which Turkey is playing in the contemporary world and I realize the significance of our relations with that country for our own security, I cannot help raising a few questions which call for precise and unequivocal answers.

Why is it that in the current alarming situation in the Balkans our relations with Turkey, Macedonia, and Albania seem to be the most active ones? I should also add our relations with Bosnia, in which sympathy for the Muslims seems to be prevailing. Meanwhile, our relations with Belgrade are nearly stagnating (and I am not talking about Serbia's actions within the borders of the former federation). Our relations with Bucharest are far from good, while our relations with Greece and Cyprus, which were excellent until recently, have considerably cooled. Does this not convey the idea of a preference for certain new configurations in the Balkans? [passage omitted]

In this particular case, our benevolent attitude toward relations with Turkey should not overlook Mr. Ozal's eulogies of the Ottoman Empire, which for over five centuries subjected our people to merciless slavery and proverbial backwardness. We are entitled to insist that sincere neighborly relations are impossible until the official Turkish policy has renounced its nostalgia for the Ottoman heritage and its dreams of new hegemony over the Balkans.

Turkey insists on military interference in Bosnia. Bulgaria's interest does not permit similar action under any form or banner whatsoever. In denouncing hegemony and bloodshed, we realize that we have hardly any possibility of contributing to a lasting, positive solution of the conflict. We Bulgarians have experienced the consequences of Greater Serbian chauvinism and Islamic aggression alike. Hence, we should neither sympathize with one side, nor maliciously rejoice over the misfortunes of the other. [passage omitted].

The existence of a Muslim population in Bulgaria, including people with a Turkish ethnic consciousness, is neither the result of aggressive wars, nor of any enforced "peaceful" diktat on our part. It is the result of Ottoman oppression, of the compulsory Islamization and colonization through which the Ottoman Empire consolidated its hold over our country's territory. After the liberation, certain hostile alien forces used the Turkish population to try to undermine the integrity of our state and Bulgarian national unity. Then as well as now the Bulgarian state, irrespective of the inheritance from the past, did not permit any violations of the Turkish population's rights. As a matter of fact, it was only the Bulgarian state that granted this population the opportunity of living under the rule of democracy, law, and order. Today, as in the past, the Bulgarian state does not interfere with the Turkish population's legitimate rights, but only reacts against attempts to exploit this population in promoting non-Bulgarian interests. As long as they are not subject to one-sided psychological and political pressure, Bulgarian Turks themselves will understand that their own interests, as Bulgarian citizens, requires that they should not be isolated from the

majority and should not be pushed toward confrontation with the common ideals and aspirations.

It is Bulgaria's right to demand that the Turkish state should not interfere with crucial problems concerning our future which should be resolved by the Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian nation, and the Bulgarian Turks, for whom Bulgaria is their only homeland. Nevertheless, the affiliation with Turkey prevails among some of them. It is high time we granted unlimited opportunities to all those willing to emigrate. They should not be expelled from the country, but they should not only exercise the right of determining their own national identity. They should also be free to choose their motherland in accordance with their national consciousness. This right was granted to Jews and Germans of the former USSR, and to Germans in Romania. Why should Bulgarian Turks be deprived of this?

After the Berov cabinet was formed, the DPS leader issued new declarations confirming his views on Bulgarian foreign policy. What was their essence? He claimed that our country is surrounded by states with territorial claims toward it. According to him, Bulgaria can count only on Turkey as an ally (against the Belgrade-Bucharest-Athens axis) and promoter of U.S. benevolence. We recently learned that the DPS parliamentary group is preparing a declaration on Balkan policy, which demonstrates its ambition to play the role of a mediator in foreign affairs. The DPS line is in contradiction with Bulgaria's current foreign policy, whose basic principles are supported by the national political forces and by the Bulgarian people's majority. Mr. Berov did not respond to the recommendations of the DPS. I do not believe that he agrees with them, but would the need for parliamentary support for his government not force him to compromise?

Let us not forget history. Despite all its military defeats and national disasters, Bulgaria has always managed to prevent military actions on its territory. The integrity of our state was never permanently affected. Let it be so today and in the future.

Embargo Talks Scheduled With Romania, Ukraine

AU1702211093 Sofia BTA in English 2036 GMT 17 Feb 93

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—A Bulgarian-Romanian communique on the two countries' intentions to demand compensations for the losses which they sustain as a result of the observance of the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro was circulated as an official document of the UN Security Council today. Bulgaria and Romania proposed the UN Security Council that UN observers be deployed along the lower reaches of the River Danube to control possible violations of the embargo.

Trilateral consultations between Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine on the enforcement of the UN Security Council sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro on the River Danube will be held in Bucharest tomorrow, the Bulgarian Defence Ministry reported today. The Bulgarian delegation, led by Mr. Veselin Petrov, head of the International Organizations Department, will include experts of the Chief Customs Department with the Ministry of Finance, the National Border Guards Service with the Ministry of the Interior and the State Shipping Inspectorate with the Ministry of Transport. The sides will consider a wide range of mutual concerns for the improvement of their coordination and exchange of information on the strict observance of the UN Security Council sanctions on the Danube. [passage omitted]

Greek Foreign Minister Concludes Visit

AU1302152693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] I am quite convinced and believe that, following the talks that I have had with Bulgarian political leaders, our bilateral relations will become even closer, Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou told journalists today, shortly before his departure for Bucharest.

He expressed his satisfaction with his visit to Bulgaria, which in his view went off exceptionally well. What is more, he said, we reached full agreement on all questions, with the exception of one, and decided to further strengthen relations between Greece and Bulgaria.

Asked whether the good relations between Bulgaria and Turkey would not affect Bulgarian-Greek cooperation to some extent, in the light of the forthcoming visit of Turkish President Turgut Ozal to Bulgaria, the Greek foreign minister said: We must maintain good relations with all neighbors, and on the basis of this view, Bulgaria's good contacts with other states can only help to establish a climate of understanding and trust.

A short while ago we received a report that the Greek foreign minister has arrived in Bucharest. His talks there will be concerned with the war in the former Yugoslavia and improving relations between Greece and Romania. Mikhail Papakonstandinou is also expected to present his country's position regarding the recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Karabashev, EBRD Official Discuss Privatization

AU1602192093 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev today received the vice president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], Mr. Robert Freeman. Privatization was high on the agenda, the government press office said.

The EBRD is willing to participate in the process of privatization in Bulgaria by buying stock in prosperous Bulgarian enterprises, i.e. enterprises with good export orientation and competent management. The sides discussed the privatization of the Bulgarian financial sector and the completion of the process of consolidation of commercial banks in this country.

Touring the country, the EBRD delegation visited several enterprises which had excited its interest, like the Stara Zagora-based DZU (manufacturer of magnetic disks for data recording), the POLYKHIM Chemical Works in Devnya and Grand Hotel Varna. During today's talks, the EBRD officials recommended that the state retain a holding in privatizing units and proposed that Bulgaria establish an investment fund which should include Bulgarian investors as well.

Transport Protocol Signed With Romania

AU1502214693 Sofia BTA in English 2036 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Vidin, February 15 (BTA)—The ministers of transport of Bulgaria, Neycho Neev, and of Romania, Paul Teodoru, today signed a protocol on cooperation. They discussed for almost five hours the building of a bridge across the Danube, the economic efficiency of the Nikopol-Turnu Magurele water power system and ferry services between Bulgaria and Romania.

The two ministers will meet again within twenty days to sign an intergovernmental accord on the new Danubian bridge. According to the Bulgarian side, it would be best to build the bridge between Vidin and Calafat. Romania keeps the right to suggest a new site, the protocol says.

An intergovernmental commission will work out the technical and economic motivation of the projects to build the water power system between Nikopol and Turnu Magurele and new ferry links, says the protocol. These will be designed and built by municipalities on both sides of the Danube, which have motivated their schemes before the two governments, according to the protocol.

No contractor will be given preference in designing and building the bridge, according to Mr. Neev. The project will be carried out in keeping with legislation and public interests, he said.

Finance Minister Departs for IMF Talks

AU1502102593 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] On 15 February a Bulgarian expert group led by Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov departed for Washington, where it will conduct talks with the IMF. The group includes Dimitur Radev, deputy minister of finance; Ventsislav Andonov, chief of the Agency on Economic Programming and Developing; and Lyubomir Khristov, chief economist of the Bulgarian National Bank.

Minister Aleksandrov said that at the talks he will insist on a budget deficit of 6-8 percent. He did not deny the fact that increasing the price of liquid fuels has been coordinated with the IMF's requirement on introducing real market prices.

Previews Stance at Talks

AU1302210793 Sofia BTA in English 2020 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—The Bulgarian delegation which will start talks with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington on Monday [15 February], has prepared preliminary estimates projecting a 60 percent inflation in 1993, a maximum decline in production of less than 3-4 percent and a budget deficit of 7.8 percent, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said in a televised interview tonight.

He said that it would not be a tragedy if Bulgaria failed to sign an agreement with the IMF.

"We have a very clear task: to define the parameters of the new agreement and bring the implementation of the second agreement to completion," Mr. Stoyan Aleksandrov said. He reported that, having in mind the current economic results, the IMF insists that no further talks on the second agreement be held but the two sides start negotiations on the next agreement, instead.

The finance minister reported that the next IMF mission will arrive in Sofia in March.

Berov Discusses Domestic Policy in TV Interview

AU1202153293 Sofia BTA in English 2215 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov discussed several questions of domestic policy in a televised interview this evening.

Asked about the financial legacy handed down to the cabinet, Mr. Berov said many problems have remained unresolved. He listed the difficulties of the Bulgarian Railway Company and power engineering, bad debts, the persisting drop in the living standards of certain groups, such as pensioners, inadequate pay to public sector employees. "When we came in office, things were not as good as they should have been," Prof. Berov said.

He denied that the cabinet's personnel policy was controlled by the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, whose parliamentary groups voted for the cabinet. The country still has no foreign minister because no candidate has been found acceptable to all three parliamentary forces, said Mr. Berov, who is acting foreign minister. He explained he had merged the Ministry of Culture with that of education and science to reduce the administrative staff.

Commenting on an official declaration by the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces saying that the cabinet is restoring communism, Prof. Berov said Bulgaria's prestige must not be undermined in that way. Prof. Berov denied statements about dismissals on political grounds as groundless. He said the deputy regional governor of Burgas (eastern Bulgaria) and the regional governor of Plovdiv (southern Bulgaria) have been dismissed so far. "Anyone can agree or disagree with the government's decisions only within the limits of the law," Lyuben Berov said to a question whether he fears that a protest wave may follow these dismissals.

Speaking about the cabinet's priorities in the next couple of months, Prof. Berov listed the preservation of the real incomes of low-income groups, removing obstacles to speedy privatization and land restitution, and starting a real restructuring of the economy. There are many problems, for instance, in power engineering, which must be solved as soon as possible, however painful the solution can be. The same applies to the railway company. It must be decided whether sectors like electronic engineering will exist in future. Unpopular decisions may be taken in the course of economic adjustment, Mr. Berov said. They cannot be put off infinitely, as the previous government did. It took two important decisions in its term in office: about uranium extraction and nonferrous metallurgy. Many problems are pending. Unfortunately, we are the ones to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, Prime Minister Berov said in conclusion.

Dogan Comments on Relations With SDS, Ozal Visit

AU1702151393 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 11 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), by Valeriya Veleva in Sofia on 10 February: "No One Was Married to Power, Especially Since It Was in Suspicious Hands"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Veleva] Mr. Dogan, what are the members of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] parliamentary faction doing while the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] deputies are quarreling?

[Dogan] The DPS members continue to work. Our attention is directed toward issues which affect the economy. We all know that this situation requires serious treatment. We have daily meetings with representatives of state and private companies, who after being in political and economic discomfort several months ago, now seek the shortest way to the relevant ministries and the government with issues which must be resolved urgently. Our role simply is to facilitate their access and accelerate solution of the problems. Our direct connection with the ministries allows us to immediately get their cooperation whenever we require it. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Do you know anything about compromising plots that are being prepared against politicians who adhere to the centrist line and that are expected to appear toward the end of March-April?

[Dogan] It is exceptionally important that the dynamic parliamentary majority be related precisely to asserting centrism in the parliament and politics in general. Naturally, I have opponents. I think that centrism as a new and extremely necessary parliamentary-political paradigm is not only an alternative for our country but perhaps our life preserver. It is only centrism that can save the country, both from the viewpoint of our place in the Balkans and from the viewpoint of asserting centrist tendencies in the legislative and executive branches.

[Veleva] What will be your attitude toward the 70 SDS deputies who declared that they do not support the Berov cabinet?

[Dogan] They will continue to be our friends! There always is the chance that they will change their attitude. If they are so sure that they oppose this government, I would ask them: "Are you ready to assume power?" I am sure that they will not be able to answer. It is not only a matter of keeping the power away from people whom I consider view suspicious, in the least. The issue is in the fact that no one is married to the power!

[Veleva] What do you expect from Mr. Ozal's visit to Bulgaria?

[Dogan] Except for the visit of Kenan Evren, who represented the military regime, the visit of President Ozal to Bulgaria is the first visit of a Turkish president to Bulgaria. From this point of view, the visit could mark the beginning of a new type of bilateral relations. In addition, the visit has great importance in the context of the events in Yugoslavia. I am convinced that many crucial questions will be considered concerning our domestic and Balkan policies. Against the background of the new tendencies in the value systems in the former East European states, this visit will place us in a position where we will have to make a choice and define our position.

Naturally, the issue of the Black Sea free economic zone will be discussed. You know, the Turkish president is a power in economic thinking beyond his own state. For us it will be interesting to understand the details of the methodology of applying the privatization mechanism, because Turkey has exceptionally great experience in this area. After the meeting of Mr. Ozal with Clinton, his visit to Bulgaria has additional importance—it could serve as a bridge or a shuttle.

As far as the basic Balkan problem is concerned—the war on Bosnia-Hercegovina—I think that the visit will be a step toward resolving this problem.

Military Advocacy Leader on Need for Strong Army

AU1602142693 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Feb 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Major Rusi Gochev, chairman of the Rakovski Officers Legion, by Major Valeri Khadzhiev; date and place not given: "Society Recognizes Need for Modern Army, But Does Little To Achieve It"]

[Text] [Khadzhiev] Is the conflict between the Rakovski Legion and the Defense Ministry over?

[Gochev] Absolutely, yes, and the reason is in Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov's constructive position. We have always wanted to conduct a dialogue, but could not find a partner. Now we have a sensible partner with whom we are prepared to resolve together the Army problems. This does not mean that there will be no differences, but confidence has been restored, and that is the main thing.

[Khadzhiev] Who was afraid of the Rakovski Legion?

[Gochev] When the officers began to feel like free people the politicians started to search for political motives behind their actions and statements. The used to "paint" us in different political colors simply because they were afraid to listen to our voice and hear our problems.

First of all there were speculations about the legion's name. The analogy was understandable, but it is not right to judge something on the basis of form, rather than content. We are not the heirs of the legion that existed 50 years ago, and to stress the difference we call ourselves legion members [legisti] rather than legionnaires [legionari]. Afterward, the politicians began to make various conclusions on the basis of statements of individual legion members, who broke with our principles and tried to make a political career. We also told the president that an organization can be judged only on the basis of its documents, adopted and confirmed in a democratic manner.

[Khadzhiev] Did your membership shrink in the last two years?

[Gochev] During the tenures of former Defense Ministers Ludzhev and Staliyski many legion members from the leadership and local branches were forced to retire. If they did not support the legion they could still be in active service. A campaign aimed at isolating us began at the military units. They used to tell us that if we were legion members it meant we had a lot of free time, and then they used to send us to the most difficult garrisons. Regulations were adopted with the purpose of destroying the legion. Dismissals on the same basis at the Ministry of Internal Defense acquired drastic dimensions. Nevertheless, the number of our supporters increased. When we conducted an action against the serious social situation in Khaskovo in the fall of 1992, two thirds of the personnel in units in which we had no branches supported us. Such examples give us the feeling that we express the interests of all officers. At present in the Army alone we have 150 clubs.

[Khadzhiev] How does the legion act in improving the self-confidence of Bulgarian officers?

[Gochev] Our basic efforts are in the social sphere. First of all the officers' rights, status, and duties must be legally regulated. All our demands were accepted by the Defense Ministry group that drafted the bill. We will be admitted to the meetings of the Commission on National Security. We shall demand on the part of the officers the right to associate. We shall also demand that pensions be 70 percent of the active officers' wages, and that the unemployed wives of military personnel receive minimum pay.

[Khadzhiev] Will the legion take a stand on the country's political life?

[Gochev] Our charter and program point out that our aim is to protect the country's national interests and values. We have not evaluated the political parties and groups, but we could not remain indifferent to the extreme actions of certain organizations and movements that harm our national security.

[Khadzhiev] Do you think society's attitude toward the Army has changed?

[Gochev] Yes, it has changed because of certain objective reasons. I mean not only the high approval rating of the military in recent polls (68 percent approval). Some time ago the politicians asked why we need a strong army when there are international institutions that could guarantee our security. After they saw the inability of those institutions to prevent the conflict in Yugoslavia many people returned to their senses. No country and people are insured against such a nightmare. However, despite the fact that people in Bulgaria recognize the need to have a modern and well-armed army, so far no one has declared his readiness to go without anything to develop such an army.

Social Cooperation Council To Start Work Soon

AU1602112193 Sofia BTA in English 0923 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—The first meeting of the National Council for Social Cooperation (NCSC), including the government, trade unions and employers, was not delayed by the government. The cause of the delay is that some applications for membership do not meet requirements, Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev told journalists yesterday after a Council of Ministers' meeting. The setting up of the NCSC was discussed in the presence of the leaders of the two influential trade unions—Krustyu Petkov of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions and Konstantin Trenchev of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation. So far

only the Independent Trade Unions have applied properly. Podkrepa will file all documents today and will be admitted to the council, said Mr. Matinchev.

The Edinstvo Trade Union has also applied but has not specified certain points as is required by the government. The application of the Pensioners' Union has been rejected because it is neither an employers' nor an employees' organization as defined in the law.

Four employers' organizations have also applied for membership, said Mr. Matinchev without naming them. He hopes the NCSC will start working next week at the latest.

According to Mr. Matinchev, it is in the government's interest to have a working NCSC because the cabinet faces pressing problems: to adjust incomes to the rise in the cost of living, to offset the rise in liquid oil prices, to carry out collective bargaining, and work out laws on employment and on the separation of social funds from state funds.

Privatization Process To Follow German Model

AU1602103693 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Feb 93 p 15

["ink" report: "Bulgaria Wants To Privatize State Companies Following the Trust Agency Example"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 14 February—This year the Bulgarian Government plans to privatize between 10 and 20 percent of its state companies. This is supposed to be done via a state privatization company, similar to the model of the German Trust Agency. The program was approved by the Council of Ministers at the end of December. Above all, companies of machine-building and the metal processing industry, electrical industry, and foodstuffs and textile industries are to be sold. This was stated by Aleksandur Bozhkov, head of the privatization company, in an interview with this newspaper. Investors are also wanted for agricultural companies, trading companies, and transportation and construction companies.

Bozhkov knows how urgently his country needs foreign capital and he gives assurances that the law on foreign investments is correspondingly liberal. It cannot be restricted by other laws, which the new government will pass in the course of the reforms. In addition, there is an investment protection law. "We will hardly find any Bulgarian buyers," Bozhkov says, "and therefore we need investors from abroad. The inflation rate of 80 percent last year and the strong decline in production have made the people poor." With their income interested Bulgarians cannot buy any state companies.

People also have problems with access to loans. Even though at the moment, with an interest level of 50 percent, the situation is rather favorable for raising loans, most loans are short-term trading loans, which are mainly used to buy staple foods, such as sugar, in order to sell them again. The Bulgarian banking system is not yet developed enough to issue long-term loans with which courageous people could then invest in private companies.

Nevertheless, to give Bulgarians the opportunity to participate in the privatization of state property, a U.S.-Bulgarian enterprise fund has been established to provide funds for loans. Something similar is also planned with Germany, Bozhkov says. Under no circumstances does Bulgaria intend to "give" the companies to the people "for free" with the help of privatization checks, as in the former CSFR or in Russia. Bozhkov: "As long as I am in office I will not permit such a new distribution of assets, because Bulgarians do not value anything they do not have to pay for."

Bozhkov does not fear a sell-off of land. One cannot take away land and the most important thing is that those companies that are privatized begin to produce things efficiently soon. He thinks that privatization on the model of Germany's Trust Agency will constitute a "market test," which will show the real value of the state companies. In any event, Bulgarians will not be able to avoid a profound structural change, he says.

However, privatization is not conducted exclusively through the authorities. About 90 percent of the property expropriated by the communists has been returned to former owners. This comprises land, houses, small shops, factories, and restaurants. Bozhkov calls this "a first small privatization" and says: "Restitution is quite simple in our country: anyone who can prove that he was expropriated or whose documents are with the local authorities gets his former property back within a month." State claims are to be made good by the restored owner. Only if agreement cannot be reached is a court hearing held.

The privatization company, which has approximately the rank of a ministry in Sofia, is closely cooperating with the Trust Agency Eastern Europe Consulting Company (TOB). This has given the Bulgarian trust agency a new organizational structure. In addition, we have an agreement with the Trust Agency, which promises us the support of German experts at the first auction. Bozhkov also hopes for support from the FRG Finance Ministry. "However, we are not just asking for financial aid. It is much more important that we get know-how and that our people are trained."

The Bulgarian trust agency—which can, however, be compared with the German Trust Agency only to a limited extent—was founded with the first privatization law in May 1992. Bozhkov, a former engineer, has been its head since last August. Bozhkov is accountable to a board of 11 directors, six of whom have been appointed by parliament and five by the government for four years. His company is responsible for the privatization of the 8,000 large companies. The sale of smaller state companies is the responsibility of the ministries. The local authorities are privatizing those companies that belong to the communities.

Podkrepa Miners Threaten Strike, Demand Agreement

AU1702181293 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 17 Feb 93

["Miners of Podkrepa Trade Union Federation Insist on Framework Agreement With the Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—The Central Strike Committee with the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union Federation will call a nationwide strike in early March unless a framework agreement is signed with the government, Dimitur Dimov, president of the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union, one of the biggest in the country, told a news conference today.

The miners demand a new agreement because the previous cabinet, headed by Filip Dimitrov, did not meet commitments undertaken last summer. The Podkrepa Miners' Federation has 19,510 members—miners and transport workers, who are ready to go on strike, which means that all mines will be have to be closed, said Dimitur Dimov.

Miroslav Mitovski, a representative of the Trade Unions of Power Supply Workers with Podkrepa, which is one of the two influential trade union amalgamations in the country, said today that certain units in the industry, in which strikes are not prohibited, will go on a sympathy strike.

Dimitur Dimov charged that the leaders of the Power Engineering Committee and the National Electricity Company took actions intended to prevent the mining industry from reaching its full capacity. According to the trade unions, Bulgaria will lose about 1,000 million leva in 1993 if coal continues to be imported at the same rate at the expense of domestic coal mining. In 1992 this country paid for imported electricity double the amount it received for exports, said experts of the Miners' Trade Union Federation. According to them, the Power Engineering Committee should seek to increase electric energy output at the current cost price with the available capacity, instead of raising the price of electricity. In 1992 Bulgaria imported electricity worth 2,083 million leva (11.58 percent of total consumption). The trade unions argue that the sum should have been spent on repairs in the industry. In 1993 electric energy worth 1,260 million leva (5.5 percent of total consumption) will be imported, according to plans.

The experts of the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union Federation believe that power engineering leaders will drastically raise electricity prices as of April, by over 70 percent for household consumers and nearly 20 percent for industrial consumers.

U.S. Plan Seen as 'New Hope' for Bosnian Peace

AU1702214793 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Feb 93 p 14

[Commentary by Dusan Spak: "Russian Cards in American Poker"]

[Text] The Americans have taken the first step in their peace plan for Bosnia. Washington's special envoy Reginald Bartholomew set out on a peace mission to Europe this weekend. His destination was not Yugoslavia, however, but Moscow....

The White House has kindled new hope for Bosnia-Hercegovina. After the efforts of the assiduous yet powerless Europe failed and the UN plans got caught up in a vicious circle, the United States' latest proposals significantly increase the chances for a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict. While advocates of a hard line will apparently be disappointed by the U.S. initiative, opponents of military intervention surely feel relieved.

Bill Clinton has put his money on the policy of persuasion and has given diplomacy another chance. Not only has he cast doubt on armed intervention in Bosnia, but he has presented himself as a skillful tactician. One of the key features of his six-point plan is the proposal for the greater involvement of Russia in solving the Bosnian crisis. For the first time since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia is again finding itself at the center of world political developments and is assuming a considerable degree of responsibility.

Everything suggests that, already in preparing his proposals, President Clinton assured himself of the Russian Government's support. This was no coincidence. Moscow can definitely have a substantial impact on the fate of the American peace plan, be it in a positive or a negative sense. Its position is known: Although it has repeatedly expressed concern at the developments in former Yugoslavia, it has never failed to issue warnings against any military intervention against Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Russia does not view Serbs in the former Yugoslavia as the aggressors but as the victims. Leaving aside the longstanding strategic contacts between the Russians and the Serbs, both Slav brothers and Orthodox Christians, this attitude also probably has its roots in the perception of the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia in the eyes of many Russians as some sort of a possible prototype of future developments in Russia itself, in which Russians could play a role similar to that of the Serbs in former Yugoslavia. This means that they would try to preserve the unity of the country and protect their fellow countrymen who represent a minority in the breakaway states or regions. Russian proponents of this view fear that one day they could find themselves in the same position as the Serbs today.

The point of departure of the Americans' philosophy of dealing with the Bosnian problem is obvious. Serbia has always sided with the Russians, who, as a reward, are backing Belgrade today. The White House appears to be pursuing two aims. First and foremost, it wants to try make Moscow exert greater pressure on Belgrade to make it more amenable to compromise. At the same time it wants Russia to withhold its right of veto in the UN Security Council with respect to the American peace plan.

Although Reginald Bartholomew's talks in Moscow have not yet provided a clear answer to the question to what degree Russia will support Washington's new plan to step up pressure on Serbia, Moscow's participation in solving the Bosnian conflict in the given situation is essential. Apparently, the way to stop the fighting in the Balkans might lead from the United States via Russia.

Ruml Holds Talks With FRG, Austria on Refugees

AU1802115393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Feb 93 p 13

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Ruml by Alena Borovickova; place and date not given: "Problem Number One—Asylum"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Borovickova] Recently you held talks with FRG Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel and with your Austrian counterpart, Minister Loeschnak, on the problem of asylum-seekers. What conclusions did you reach?

[Ruml] The Austrian view essentially does not differ from our view. Just like the Czech Republic, Austria is in the eyes of Germany a so-called safe third country. Austria is of the opinion that Germany wants to address this problem by means of a wide-ranging network of treaties with all central European countries involved. In other words, there should definitely not be just bilateral agreements. Germany has reached an agreement with Romania that 40,000 Romanian refugees would be sent back to Bucharest. The Czech Republic will agree to their transit only under the condition that Germany conclude a similar agreement on transit with Slovakia and Hungary.

[Borovickova] You recently said that "we will try one train." Do you think that the asylum-seekers will use the first stop in the Czech Republic to jump out of that train?

[Ruml] That is exactly why we want to make the test. We must agree with the German side on how to prevent them from jumping out of the train. Even before the first train departs, we must conclude an agreement with Germany that will precisely specify the conditions of transit.

Rules Out Accepting Refugees

AU1702162393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Feb 93 pp 1,2

["(jem)"-signed report: "Interior Minister Ruml Has Ruled Out Accepting Refugees From the FRG"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Republic will not accept any of the 450,000 refugees currently living in Germany without right of asylum. Interior Minister Jan Ruml made this statement yesterday. The Czech authorities, therefore, are not planning to establish new refugee camps or similar facilities. Ruml added that he is only holding talks with the German side on the conditions for the possible transit of returnees from the FRG to their own countries via the Czech Republic.

According to Ruml, the Czech, German, and Austrian interior ministers have agreed that they will attempt to jointly prepare a multilateral treaty on returning refugees, a treaty that would resolve the migration problem within the framework of central Europe.

According to the minister, the meeting between Deputy Minister Fendrych and German State Secretary Voecking—which was held in Prague on 11 February—merely concerned future cooperation between the two states in the sphere of migration and asylum policy. It is apparent, however, from the joint communique issued by the two sides that if a series of treaties on returning refugees is not concluded in the foreseeable future among the European states, the Czech Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will seek a solution through bilateral agreements. According to the practices of international law, such treaties normally contain three basic elements: assuming responsibility for one's own nationals, making a police escort possible, and accepting third country nationals who illegally crossed the common state border.

Ruml said that security measures will be implemented on the Czech-Slovak border well within two years. According to him, however, the government has so far dealt with this issue on only a general political level. It has said that this is a very sensitive issue that has to be discussed with the Slovak side. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has, therefore, asked Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys, and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik to immediately inform their counterparts in Slovakia of the Czech Republic's intention to organize the defense of its eastern state border. He added that the government will return to this issue in two weeks.

Dlouhy Estimates Decline in Trade With Slovakia

AU1702155293 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Feb 93 p 14

[Interview with Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy by Roman Bajcan; place and date not given: "What Will Be the Decline in Trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] After the disintegration of Czechoslovakia and the division of the common currency, there has been speculation as to what effects the new conditions will have on our mutual trade. There is no doubt that there will be some decline. Attempts have been made to express the losses numerically. This is what Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy tried to do in an interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES.

[Bajcan] According to various estimates, the decline in trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic could be as high as 10 to 30 percent.

[Dlouhy] It is obvious that the division of currency will lead to some decline in trade in goods. An optimistic forecast is 10 percent—another, catastrophic one is 40 percent.

In the first case, gross domestic product would decline by 1 to 1.5 percent in the Czech Republic. In Slovakia it would be 2 to 2.5 percent. The shortfall would have to be compensated by imports from third countries. The volume of the Czech Republic's trade would decline by some 200-250 million dollars.

In Slovakia, this figure would be 150 to 200 million dollars. This is because Slovakia is smaller. On the other hand, the 200-million shortfall is relatively worse for Slovakia.

A 10-percent decline in trade should not lead to a significant acceleration of inflation in either of the two republics—provided, however, that the remaining 90 percent will be able to contain the current inflationary trend.

[Bajcan] What would happen if mutual trade declined by 40 percent?

[Dlouhy] Gross domestic product in the Czech Republic could decline by 5 to 6 percent. In Slovakia by 9 to 10 percent. The balance of payments in the Czech Republic would decline, according to estimates, by between 800 million and 1 billion dollars, and between 650 and 800 million dollars in Slovakia. This final consequence would be that the trade would be accounted in convertible currencies. However, despite such a significant decline in mutual trade, Slovakia would still remain our most important trading partner.

[Bajcan] There does not seem to be a great difference between the two republics. Despite this, however, the situation would not be too favorable for Slovakia.

[Dlouhy] The impact on the Slovak Republic will always be greater. If for no other reason than because the Slovak economic space is smaller. However, we have here one paradoxical factor.

The Slovak economy has at its disposal goods that sell better on foreign markets. Semifinished products and raw materials are the most competitive ones. Overall, Slovakia has lower productivity in the processing industry and therefore it exports petrochemical products, basic raw materials, and metallurgical materials.

[Bajcan] Czech National Bank Governor Josef Tosovsky said that the clearing accounting system would hold for

several months only. In his opinion, enterprises have been given "a breathing space".

[Dlouhy] Clearing-style trade is no rescue of the mutual trade between the two republics. This depends on micro-economic conditions, the viability of enterprises, devaluing this or that currency, and also on the development of the convertibility of both currencies, and the willingness to stick to the basic rules of the customs union, etc.

Czech enterprises really will get time to adapt themselves to the changed conditions and to find customers in other countries. Without this, a larger number of companies would go bankrupt.

[Bajcan] In the payment treaty, the trade exchange is conditioned by the credit limit. What will happen if there is greater trade activity by Czech enterprises? This situation would also apply to settling claims between manufacturing companies in both republics.

[Dlouhy] It is anticipated that the trade balance between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic will develop favorably for us. When the credit limit of 500 million korunas is exhausted, the problem will be: What next? The payment treaty provides for a 10-percent interest rate if the credit limit is exceeded, payable on the 15th of the following month. If the debt is not paid, the rate will be increased to 15 percent. After two months of default on payment, other ways for settling claims will be sought.

Theoretically, however, we can imagine a scenario in which the Slovak side would stop paying altogether. Simply because it would have no convertible currency. Then this credit limit would become a long-term government loan to Slovakia.

It is in the interest of the Czech Republic to stimulate mutual trade, even at the price of a long-term government-provided credit, which would given us the said "breathing space". This would be the price the Czech Republic would have to pay for the division of the state.

Republic To Receive PHARE Aid

AU1702160993 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Feb 93 p 2

["(do)"-signed report: "PHARE Divided"]

[Excerpt] The Czech Republic will be allotted roughly 143 million European Currency Units [ECU] from the 230 million ECUs originally granted to Czechoslovakia within the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Hungary and Poland] program, Jean Trestour, head of the PHARE section within the EC Commission delegation in Prague, said to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

This sum is drawn from 1990 and it is assumed it will "last" for three or four years. Trestour said his section is prepared to help various Czech Republic ministries implement PHARE programs separately so that the aid—which is nonreturnable and earmarked from the EC budget—is granted efficiently and promptly. [passage omitted]

Dlouhy Discusses Project With Indian Minister

AU1702134093 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—At their meeting in Prague today, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and Indian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, stated that both the Czech Republic and India are interested in cementing their relations on a contractual basis.

The two ministers confirmed that the relations between India and the former Czechoslovak Federation are smoothly continued by those between India and the Czech Republic, a Czech Foreign Ministry official told CTK today.

The two countries are primarily interested in mutual economic cooperation, the official said.

The Indian representative confirmed a previous invitation for the Czech President Vaclav Havel to visit India. He also presented an invitation to Zieleniec, which was gladly accepted, the official said.

At the Indian guests's meeting with Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, the Czech representative said the Czech Republic wants to support Czech foreign trade company Skodaexport in its effort to participate in the construction of an oil pipeline near the Indian town of Kandla.

Dlouhy told CTK that this is one of the Czech Republic's biggest projects of the last few years. The investment, worth 300 million USD, will be shared by several Czech companies, who will cooperate with foreign businesses. A credit from the World Bank will help to found the total cost of 700 million USD, Dlouhy said.

Construction of the pipeline is to start as early as this year, Dlouhy said. He added that he wiil visit India to negotiate the project's details.

Raghunandan Lal Bhatia also met today with Czech President Vaclav Havel, who thanked him for India's recognition of the Czech Republic. Havel invited Indian President Shankar Dayal Sharma to visit the country.

Ruml Discusses Internal Security Situation

AU1802115193 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 13 Feb 93 p 1

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Ruml by Miroslav Petracek; place and date not give: "Building a Two-Way Highway"]

[Text] [Petracek] The migration problem has become very serious recently. Has your ministry drafted a solution?

[Ruml] I am going to present documents in the government, documents specifying the principles of the migration policy. They include the problem of the Czech-Slovak state borders, the Czech Republic's visa policy, international negotiations, etc. At a meeting with ministers of neighboring countries we are discussing the fight against people-smuggling gangs, cooperation with protecting the state borders, and treaties making it possible to return foreigners to the country of their origin—if they are not political refugees but rather have left for economic reasons. The concept for migration policy is taking into account all those steps within the international context.

[Petracek] According to the draft German concept, the Czech Republic is one of the so-called safe countries. This means that people who reach Germany via the Czech-German border will be returned to our republic. How do you want to prevent these people from gathering on our territory?

[Ruml] We must not take the problem of refugees out of the context of the international and political situation. We have our own ideas about the Czech Republic's position within Europe, and this problem must be understood within the context of this position. If we do not want Germany to guard its borders in a way reminiscent of the past 40 years, then of course we must take certain steps. I am not saying that we are going to lower an iron curtain on our borders with Slovakia, but we must agree with our neighbors on a joint course of action to help the people who have the right to asylum and who are exposed to a danger at home. On the other hand, we should also unite in our actions against those who are abusing the situation and who are potential criminals. There is a one-way highway to the West through our territory. We should build a two-way highway for the people who do not need help, who only want to improve their standard of living or even to abuse the situation and devote themselves to speculations and crime.

[Petracek] The Committee of the Chamber of Deputies dealing with legal protection and security discussed this week, in your presence, an Interior Ministry concept for the internal order and the doctrine of the police of the Czech Republic. Could you briefly describe this document?

[Ruml] The doctrine itself is strategic material that is expected to create a framework for the functioning of all organs dealing with internal security on the Czech Republic's territory. It contains basic principles of the organization, mechanisms, and relations as applied between security organs, parliament, the government, and the public. It is a blue-print material, from which a number of measures follows, be it on the government level, or on the Interior Ministry level. The measures are ranged according to special priorities and are linked to the difficult security situation in our republic. Even the deadlines for the tasks are known. These tasks must be carried out by several ministerial sectors, and they relate to migration, social problems and crime prevention, amendments to the criminal code, etc. As far as the reorganization of the police and security organs is concerned, we would like to have it done by the end of this year.

Baudys Urges Replacement of Weapons

AU1702154693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Feb 93 p 3

["(hop)"-signed report: "Czech Weapons in the Czech Army"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Republic Army's weapons must be replaced so that the Army may approach the modern Western standard. It is unnecessary to use MiG-29 planes if we are one of the manufacturers of the top-of-the-line combat aircraft. This is what Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said at his first meeting with the Defense and Security Committee of the Czech parliament.

In his opinion, all the officers should pass selection tests soon,despite the fact that the Army cannot afford to dismiss anyone since it does not have a strong enough complement of young people. Personnel questions can be solved only after a ministerial plan [for the Army] is adopted. This should take effect in July.

The minister also stressed that the Czech Republic does not need the present number of military schools and training centers. He was in favor of abolishing most of the military secondary schools.

When asked by deputies how to prevent thefts of weapons from military storage, he said: "Within the Army there are the military police, which should eliminate crime. The problem is, however, that this force only has 770 members and they are insufficiently equipped. Moreover, the problem is compounded by the commanders of the individual units, who are inclined to hide the thefts. We must change the law pertaining to the military police and give the force additional funding."

Democratic Left, Communist Party To Cooperate

AU1702134493 Prague CTK in English 1326 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—The Czech Democratic Left (DL) movement and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) agreed to continue their cooperation within the Left Bloc (LB), at a meeting of their leading officials on February 12, DL Chairman Lotar Indruch told journalists today.

Speaking at a press conference in Brno, South Moravia, Indruch said that the parties' representatives agreed that the Left Bloc should serve as an opposition to the current right-wing government coalition and should pay much more attention to the problems of the low-bracket strata of the population. He said they criticised the government policy in the fields of education, health care, social security and pensions.

Indruch, however, stressed that at the meeting the DL had voiced serious objections to the KSCM's internal policy in connection with former Czechoslovak Communist Party's top officials having become lately active within the KSCM. He was referring to a new faction established in the KSCM in mid-January which adheres to the principles of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism. Former Prague Communist Party Chief Miroslav Stepan and former Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina became members of the new faction's leadership.

Indruch said that the DL wants to go with the KSCM, but not down to the bottom. This is why the DL demands that internal problems within the KSCM are speedily settled and that the party continue its transformation. The DL expects the KSCM Central Committee to take a clear stand on the current internal crisis in the party at its congress March 6, Indruch said.

The LB has 35 seats in the 200-seat Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament.

Illegal Weapons Caches Discovered in Prague

LD1702220793 Prague CTK in English 2149 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 17 (CTK)—Prague criminal police discovered two illegal caches of weapons in Prague today, one with 900 machine guns and the other with 700, Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subrt told CTK today.

One cache had been stored by a Prague security agency, and the other by a private businesswoman.

The successful strike was the result of a long-term police operation in which investigators and military police also participated, Subrt said. The operation is still underway and police expect to find another 100 weapons by the end of the week.

Criminologists believe that the weapons are from Army and people's militia stores, Subrt said.

He also said that thus far no one has been accused in connection with this case. The police investigator has launched proceedings for unauthorised armament.

No ammunition was found in the secret storage rooms.

Unemployment Rate Exceeds 3 Percent in January

AU1702164693 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Feb 93 p 8

["(fo)"-signed report: "Unemployment in the Czech Republic in January"]

[Text] In the Czech Republic, labor offices registered 158,113 job seekers on 31 January, which is, compared with 31 December, an increase of 17.3 percent. In absolute figures this increase represented 23,300 people.

The largest relative increase was in Prague (60.5 percent), and in the Plzen-south district (45.6 percent). In Benesov, Pardubice, Plzen-north, Cheb, Mlada Boleslav, Rychnov nad Kneznou, and Karlovy Vary this increase was between 30 and 40 percent.

Benefits were collected by 71,200 people, that is, 45 percent of the total number of registered unemployed.

The number of school graduates, seeking a job via labor offices, increased by 509 people. The increase was registered, above all, among minors graduating from school and apprentices.

The unemployment rate nationwide was 3.01 percent on 31 January 1993. There are significant differences between individual regions. The unemployment rate was under 1 percent only in Prague (0.51 percent), Cheb (0.55 percent), Karlovy Vary (0.72 percent), and Prague East (0.82 percent). In 16 districts the unemployment rate reached more than 5 percent. The highest rates were in Znojmo (7.03 percent) Bruntal (6.77 percent), Vsetin (6.52 percent), Louny (6.31 percent), Trebic (6 percent), Sumperk (5.86 percent), and Pribram (5.52 percent).

The number of vacancies declined 5,900 in January. Vacancies for workers declined the most. On 31 January there were 73,500 vacancies, with 54,700 for workers and 18,800 in other nonworker categories. For each vacancy there are an average of 2.2 applicants. As in the case of the unemployment rate, there are significant differences among the regions. While in Prague demand for the work force highly prevails over supply—for each applicant there are almost five vacancies—in the south Moravian region there were 4.6 applicants for each vacancy and in the north Moravian region 5.5.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Gabcikovo Talks

LD1702205693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The trilateral talks of legal and technical experts from Slovakia, Hungary, and the European Community on the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project have practically exhausted their possibilities, and the stances of the parties still differ despite accommodating steps taken by them. This is said in a statement issued by the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, obtained today by TA SR, following yesterday's talks in Brussels.

The statement also says that despite an effort to show flexibility at the talks, the Hungarian side could not overstep the framework of its mandate. The Slovak delegation based its stances on the validity of the 1977 interstate agreement on the hydroelectric works on the Danube, as well as on the validity of consequent contractual documents. The European Community commission has recommended that the governments of Slovakia and Hungary promptly confirm the pledge to submit the case to the International Court of Justice. They have also recommended the introduction of a temporary water regime based on the EC proposal, which could be subject to smaller alterations on the basis of an agreement.

The Foreign Ministry statement also says that the representatives from Slovakia, Hungary, and the EC stated in Brussels that a new impulse might be the submission of open questions to be decided by top political bodies of the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic.

Kovac Asks To Be Relieved of HZDS Membership

AU1802115693 Prague CTK in English 0731 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 17 (CTK)—Slovak President-Elect Michal Kovac asked last night for discontinuation of his membership in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] according to unofficial sources.

In a letter addressed to the HZDS he also demanded to be dismissed from the post of the HZDS deputy chairman.

Kovac stressed his intention to leave the HZDS if elected as president mainly in talks with other parliamentary parties just before the presidential election. Representatives of the Slovak National Party and the Democratic Left Party have made it clear that Kovac's step was decisive for the two parties' final support for him in the election.

Kovac was elected as Slovak president on February 15.

Commentary Considers Kovac Election

AU1702163693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Feb 93 p 1

[Commentary by Stefan Hrib: "Head"]

[Text] The Slovak Republic's quest for a man who, according to parliament, would bear the mantle of "Slovak president," lasted 46 days. Just before 1600 yesterday Michal Kovac received the votes of 106 National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR] deputies and was elected president. Therefore, the Slovak Republic has its head of state. What kind of head is he?

It is incontrovertibly characteristic of today's Slovakia that its head of state is a former communist. His election enhanced this fact even more. It was presided over by the head of the NR SR—the ex-communist Ivan Gasparovic; the head of the Slovak Government was present—the ex-communist Vladimir Meciar; Michal Kovac was led into the chamber by the deputy head of the NR SR—the ex- communist Peter Weiss; and parliament was kept informed about the course of the election by the chairman of the Electoral Commission—the ex-communist Milan Secansky.

The second characteristic feature of the Slovak head of state is that he is the deputy chairman of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia. His election means that the three senior state posts—president, prime minister, and parliamentary chairman—are held by a movement that yesterday definitively harvested the crop of its electoral victory.

The third characteristic feature of the Slovak head of state is his positive attitude toward Vladimir Meciar. Kovac's remark that "people accuse Vladimir Meciar of authoritarianism because they cannot match him" provides a satisfactory answer to the question about whether Kovac could be the one to shake Meciar's unshakable position.

The fourth characteristic feature of the Slovak head of state is Kovac's view of the economy. The statements in his speech yesterday about a future "without exploitation" and "without impoverishing broad sectors of society" and that he is "a politician who stresses social conciliation and justice" speak volumes in themselves.

Finally, in the last sentence of his speech, "may God help us," the Slovak head of state acknowledged—as becomes a politician in Slovakia—Christianity as a former member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Consequently, may God help us...

Economy Minister Favors Koruna Devaluation

AU1702134793 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 15 (CTK)—Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak today told Slovak Radio that he prefers slight, 10-15 percent devaluation of the Slovak crown in order to preserve its convertibility, which is of prime interest to him.

The issue having been already consulted between the Slovak economics ministers and the Slovak National

Bank's two vice-governors, it will be on the agenda of the Slovak cabinet's session within a week, Cernak said.

He said he himself would allow a 20 percent devaluation at most. A higher devaluation has never been discussed by either the government or the ministries' specialists, he added.

The devaluation is not likely to occur before February 22, when Slovak citizens are not allowed to draw more than 10,000 Slovak crowns (about 320 USD) from their bank accounts, Cernak said. However, he added that only the Slovak National Bank Council is fully authorised to take steps on this matter.

Very quickly, in several months, maybe in a year, the rate could get back to the current value, Cernak noted.

If the Slovak crown devalues against all foreign currencies, the situation of the Czech trade in Slovakia would not change in comparison to that of the other foreign competitors, Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba told CTK today.

The eventual devaluation would affect mainly the Slovak manufacturers, he said.

It would be the Czech exporters who would face a disadvantageous situation. On the contrary, the conditions for Czech tourists and importers would improve. It is very difficult to quantify the Slovak crown devaluation's probable impact, Dyba said.

Although Slovakia is currently pressed for a decision, the decisive influence will be that of the market, Dyba stated.

Unemployment Shows Slight Increase in January

AU1702135093 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 15 (CTK)—Figures released by the Slovak labour offices for January 31 show that the unemployment rate in Slovakia increased by 0.85 percent over December 31, 1992.

At the end of January, there were 286,186 people registered with Slovak job centres, representing 11.23 percent unemployment rate and reflecting an increase of 25,912 people compared to the end of December.

The Slovak Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and the Family says the increase was caused both by employees' dismissals due to enterprises' insolvency and by business closings in view of changes in the taxation system which took effect January 1, 1993.

On January 31, job centres registered 36,128 job applicants with university education and 16,069 handicapped job seekers. Unemployment benefits were provided to 98,118 persons (34.3 percent of the registered unemployed). Of those unemployed, 51.9 percent were men, 48.1 percent women.

A total of 14,187 job vacancies was registered by job centres as of January 31. Of the 8,595 persons attending retraining courses, 6,777 were job applicants.

The highest unemployment rates were registered in the districts of Vranov nad Toplou, East Slovakia (18.11 percent), Rimavska Sobota, Central Slovakia (18.03 percent) and Roznava, East Slovakia (17.65 percent). The lowest rates appeared in Bratislava (4.01 percent), Liptovsky Mikulas, Central Slovakia (7.05) and Kosice, East Slovakia (7.35).

Majority Favor Retaining Screening Law

AU1802115493 Prague CTK in English 1105 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 16 (CTK)—More than half of Slovak citizens support retaining the so-called screening law in Slovakia, according to the results of an opinion poll conducted by the Slovak Statistical Office at the end of January.

Of the 56 percent of respondents who favour retaining the law, 33 percent want it modified to conform to the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms, 13 percent favour maintaining the law in its present form, and 10 percent support expanding the law's application to additional groups of individuals.

Twenty seven percent of the 1,257 respondents said they believed the law should be repealed, compared to 20 percent who already favoured its repeal at the time of its passage.

The screening law was passed October 4, 1991, by the now-defunct Federal Assembly (parliament) of the former Czechoslovakia. The law bars secret police collaborators, Czechoslovak Communist Party functionaries, People's Militia members and others viewed as having violated basic human rights from holding key positions for a period of five years.

Of respondents sympathetic to the ruling party, the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), 30 percent said they believed the screening law should be repealed. Of those supporting the opposition Democratic Left Party (SDL), 47 percent said they favoured repeal, as do 11 percent of supporters of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and 26 percent of supporters of the Slovak National Party (SNS).

Official Views Visit of Albanian Legislators

AU1702153093 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Andras Kelemen, political state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, by Peter G. Feher; place and date not given: "The Hungarian Example in Albania"]

[Text] A delegation of the Tirana Parliament led by Shaqir Bejto Vukaj, deputy chairman of the parliament, has held negotiations in Hungary. Among other things, the Albanian delegation held talks with Andras Kelemen.

[Feher] What foreign policy issues did the Albanian parliamentary delegation discuss? What was the most important issue for them?

[Kelemen] The delegation tried to describe almost exclusively the problem of Albanians living outside their country. According to views in Tirana, the world generally treats the issue of Albanians as a national minority issue. Vukaj said that it cannot be treated as a simple national minority issue when half a nation is compelled to remain outside the country's borders and is living in a state of threat. We directed the attention of our negotiating partners to the fact that should they raise the possibility of changing certain borders, this would be met by great obstacles. One reason is that this kind of change could have a "snowball effect." During the talks, we asked about their views on the Albanian boycott of the [Serbian] parliamentary elections in Kosovo. The delegation from Tirana supported this policy. As they said, the Kosovo Albanians did not want to use their votes to legitimize a regime and a power structure that is being used against them and whose goals are different from theirs. In connection with this—because we understand the situation when part of a nation is forced to be outside the country—we tried to make them accept the Hungarian view, namely that groups of people living elsewhere should be kept at the place of their birth, and this is the real task.

[Feher] It is impossible not to notice that meetings between politicians of these two countries have become more frequent and numerous in recent times. In the 1950's and 1960's, the Albanians looked upon Hungary as some kind of model. Is it possible that Hungary will again be the model country for Albania?

[Kelemen] This Albanian parliamentary delegation emphasized that they would like to use as many of our experiences as possible. They nearly went so far as to say that they would like to follow the Hungarian model because, in their view, this is the most successful one in the region. This is partly why we tried to make them understand our policy on Hungarians living beyond our borders, and tried to convince them that perhaps this could also be a model to follow if they want to use our example in everything. We emphasized that they should not only think in terms of short-term solutions. As an example, we mentioned that we would also like to live next to the Slovaks as good neighbors in the coming 1,000 years because there is no other solution, and it is a waste of time to spoil relations just because we have a current conflict.

[Feher] The problem of the Kosovo Albanians is not new. It has caused problems for the region and Albania since the Balkan wars. Although bilateral relations were not very good as far back as over 10 years ago, when the disturbances began in Pristina, Albanian diplomacy tried to create a special relationship with Budapest on the basis that both countries had national minorities in the former Yugoslavia. Has the Albanian side raised the issue of using this plan again?

[Kelemen] At the present talks, we emphasized that both countries were interested in resolving the problems of the region. The Albanian delegation stressed that they were more affected in this issue. Perhaps this is the reason they did not follow the example of the Vojvodina Hungarians at the parliamentary elections when the Kosovo Albanians, unlike the Hungarians, abstained from voting. The Vojvodina Hungarians tried to achieve a better position through methods used in democracies.

[Feher] Was the Islam factor raised during the negotiations? I mean the fact that there are many Muslims in Albania and, in the future, they would rely more intensely on the help of Islamic countries in solving the conflict.

[Kelemen] The Albanian parliamentary delegation did not emphasize this in this way. Some 60 percent of their population is Muslim, and so the country has a kind of dual orientation. They want to open up toward Turkey on the one hand and toward Italy on the other. They tried not to depict the problems in the Balkans as an Islamic issue. The Albanian delegation mainly concentrated on Kosovo. What sort of help they would ask of Islamic countries and what they would receive is largely dependent on what results can be achieved through other methods. However, during the negotiations, they did not hint that they were expecting support from Muslim countries.

Antall, German Minister Discuss EC, Refugees

LD1602200393 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Hungarian-German political and economic relations were described as vital by both Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and German Interior Minister Rudolf Seiters during their talks in Budapest on Tuesday [16 February].

Antall said that Hungary's principal aim was to become a full member of the European Community by the end of the century, while using all the opportunities inherent in the association agreement.

Antall pointed out the present and potential dangers of the south Slav war, touched on questions concerning the

Baltic region, and said that the Visegrad group, comprising the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland, and Hungary, was a political cooperation club offering a good basis for bilateral and multilateral relations.

Hungary will keep its international legal and humanitarian commitments to refugees, Antall said, but firm action has to be taken agaist illegal immigration and human smuggling, jointly with measures to block the spread of international crime, he added.

Seiters assured Antall of Germany's readiness to cooperate with Hungary in handling the refugee affair as well.

Counterterrorist Accord Signed With Greece

LD1702202693 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI)—A Hungarian-Greek inter- governmental agreement on cooperation in fighting terrorism, illicit drug trade, organized crime and other kinds of criminal activity was signed in Budapest on Wednesday [17 February] by Greek Minister for Environmental Protection Nikolaos Gelestathis and Hungarian Interior Ministry Political Secretary of State Istvan Morvay.

Cooperation will cover all forms of struggle against illegal migration. Readmission of illegal immigrants will be regulated by a separate accord in keeping with relevant international practices.

Earlier today, Hungarian Interior Minister Peter Boross met colleagues from 10 countries who had attended the 2nd ministerial conference on illegal migration in Budapest.

Antall Meets Coucil of Europe Leader

LD1502210093 Budapest MTI in English 2017 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—No extremist, demagogue forces can influence Hungary's government, nor can they become a governmental factor in the future, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall stressed in talks with Council of Europe Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere in Hungarian parliament on Monday [15 February].

According to information from the government spokesman's office, the sides described the meeting as exceedingly important, since Hungary was the region's first to become a full member of the Council of Europe.

Since November 1990, Hungary has signed 31 conventions and actively participated in the council's work.

The prime minister stressed that Hungary regards the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter as directives in the question of borders and human and minority rights.

Lalumiere said that, despite criticism which can also be found in the Western press, Hungary shows itself as a stable picture in Europe, and Jozsef Antall's moderate policy is keeping processes in balance. The democratic changes in Hungary are proceeding in a favourable direction even in the eyes of outside observers.

Lalumiere sought Antall's opinion about the questions to be discussed at the Council of Europe summit starting in Vienna on October 8. Antall proposed for discussion the crisis in the Balkans, the borders of the Baltic region and Europe, the determination of the geographical boundaries of the Council of Europe, and the role and potential hazards of religious fundamentalism in the last decade of the century.

Committees Discuss Security Policy Principles

AU1202121393 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Report by Stier and Vereckei: "The Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees Have Approved the Basic Principles of Security Policy"]

[Text] The parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees have separately discussed the country's concept on the basic principles of security policy. The document rejects the forcible alteration of borders and ethnic cleansing in Europe, and emphasizes that Hungary's security has to be guaranteed primarily through political means.

Gyorgy Balogh, chairman of the Defense Committee, told MAGYAR NEMZET regarding the session of the committee that, with a unanimous decision, the committee had found the security policy basic principles to be suitable for general debate.

Talking about the text coordinated by the six parties, Istvan Hegedus, deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, told MAGYAR NEMZET that it was an excellent background analysis that emphasized the most important problems. Hungary's security cannot be separated from that of Europe; and the text, as Hegedus pointed out, defines the direction: Hungary's goal is to become a member of the big international organizations. Within this, the document interprets the necessity and the role of the armed forces. Hegedus emphasized that the character of the text was open, not searching for national solutions, it had a conciliatory tone with the neighboring countries, and had no illusions. The participants in the session added the final touches, trying to avoid leaving any formulation in it which could raise suspicions in the neighboring countries. The basic principles clearly define the country's security as something referring to the territory of the Hungarian Republic. Naturally, Hegedus added, all this is inseparable from the ethnic and national conflicts that increasingly characterize our region. Hegedus emphasized that we could not pretend that this danger does not exist, and added that the concept interpreted security in a broader sense, taking ecological, economic, and political factors into consideration. It does not reduce the issue to military security and it does not emphasize the military solution as the only effective way of solving the problems.

The committee agreed at the meeting that parliament would request the government to give an account of the concept's implementation and on Hungary's security policy situation at least once a year. The reason this is needed is that anything can happen in the current confused situation and the basic principles may require amendments.

Hegedus also emphasized that they had sought to make the spirit and text of the Constitution prevail in their formulations. He referred to the importance of the concluding sentence, which had been further refined at the session. This stresses that the military defense viewpoints have to be subordinated to the constitutional order and direction. All this refers to the priority of politics and constitutional order.

Answering a question from MAGYAR NEMZET, Hegedus said that the committee had not requested a closed session because, he added, that would only have increased the suspicions of ill-willed political forces and the radical parties of the neighboring countries. They allude to there being secrets in Hungarian politics. We need not worry if some people use stronger language during the debate because this is natural in Western democracies, Hegedus emphasized. The essence of the matter is how the important political forces vote, and at its plenary session next week, parliament will doubtlessly accept the security policy concept that includes the basic principles.

In addition to finding the revised security policy principles suitable for general debate, the Foreign Affairs Committee also recommended that parliament accept them, [deputy chairman] Gyorgy Csoti told MAGYAR NEMZET after the committee had discussed the new proposals. He added that, among other things, he had emphasized the latter because there would be no debate on the concept; it can only be accepted or rejected. Amendment motions may only be submitted to the draft resolution attached to the proposals, which regulates the implementation and monitoring of the concept. Answering our question, Csoti also said that the Foreign Ministry and members of the Foreign Affairs Committee had finalized the security policy concept in four rounds of talks where the text was discussed. At the last session of the committee, only a few small suggestions were made and, finally, a unanimous decision was made on the concept. He added, though, that representatives of one of the parties maintained a different view on a minor issue that does not affect the major points. However, the committee removed this issue from the agenda. The deputy chairman, referring to the closed session, did not reveal information on the nature of this issue.

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, representative of the Alliance of Free Democrats, said that his party would decide at the weekend whether to support the acceptance of the security policy principles in the parliamentary debate.

At its session on 10 February, the Foreign Affairs Committee also confirmed its support for the ratification of the Hungarian-Russian basic agreement. The committee will decide later when to submit the document to Parliament for approval. The parliamentary deputies wrote a letter to the Serbian Parliament expressing their concern about the forcible mobilization among the local Hungarians.

* Dismantling of Nagymaros Dam To Start in 1994

93CH0347C Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Feb 93 p 1

[MTI report: "The Nagymaros Dam Will Be Dismantled Next Year"]

[Text] Preparations are under way for the removal of the Nagymaros dam on the Danube River. The Danube Rehabilitation Office will coordinate the work, which will cost a total of 7 billion forints, and there will be bidding for the contract. Six of the 11 Hungarian bidders qualify for the job; a detailed documentation of the plan has been prepared for them so they can prepare their bids soon. The winner will begin the special dismantling in the third quarter.

It is already certain that the work will begin in the dry area within the circular dam. On the basis of VITUKI's model experiments, concrete ribs will be built at the bottom of the Danube to enhance safe navigation by affecting water currents. The dismantling of the dam itself will begin in 1994. At the time the dam was built, the riverbed was moved by 300 meters on the Visegrad side, and this curve will not be covered but will be transformed into bays for water sports. Beaches, too, may be built on the Nagymaros side. The dismantling of the circular dam will be completed by 1995.

Csurka's New Political Movement Holds Meeting

AU1502154793 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 February (MTI)—"Hungarian Road" circles constitute a movement that serves to complete political change in Hungary and to enforce Hungarian interests. The movement is open to all individuals and families who feel to be "truly Hungarian," says a statement adopted at the first national meeting of the "Hungarian Road" movement, launched by Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] hard-liner Istvan Csurka.

The meeting, that ended on Saturday [13 February], was attended by nearly 2,000 people, but none of the government members.

Addressing the meeting, Csurka, a member of the MDF presidium, analyzed the period since the start of political change in Hungary. He was dissatisfied with the results, saying in spite of some steps forward, Hungarians are

still "out of possession," as power is largely held by those who grabbed it after "Kadar's treachery" on 4 November 1956.

According to Csurka the peaceful change in Hungary was only partly directed by national forces. Determining factors in it, he said, were reform communist and liberal rings, using their international relations. Despite their defeat in the elections, these forces made others conclude pacts with them, and by that, they managed to keep parts of the power, especially the media, Csurka said.

Speaking about the aims of the "Hungarian Road" circles, he said the emphasis must be on completing the political change. The ultimate goal of the movement is to become the largest, determining movement of Hungarians, he said.

SZDSZ Elects New Faction Leader

AU1602112493 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 February (MTI)—The parliamentary group of the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] approves of the party's intention to become a member of the Liberal International. The actual application will be discussed by an extraordinary deputies' congress in May, says a resolution adopted by the SZDSZ parliamentary group at a session in Tata, western Hungary, on Saturday [13 February].

The session elected Gabor Kuncze, 43, as parliamentary group leader, to replace Marton Tardos, who from now on wants to work on the party's economic policies.

The session discussed ways to prepare for the 1994 general elections, SZDSZ executive Balint Magyar told the press. He said participants agreed the party should avoid political skirmish during the year before the elections as detrimental to itself, the government, and parliament.

Instead of trying to increase their own popularity, all parties should concentrate on tasks ahead of the country, especially economic goals, Magyar said.

Answering a question, he said the session discussed the government reshuffle. He said participants agreed there was definitely a political reason for the dismissal of Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, which is also signalled by the fact that the realization of Kupa's programme had been interrupted earlier. In the case of several other ministers' dismissals, he said, the SZDSZ was uncertain whether there were political reasons, while others had certainly been relieved because Prime Minister Antall had found them unsuitable for the posts.

Asked by MTI, the new parliamentary group leader Gabor Kuncze said the SZDSZ had good chances at the 1994 elections. If in the coming period, the party can answer questions and make good proposals, it can further increase the number of supporters. By that, it will be able to either win the elections or become a stable member in a future governing coalition, Kuncze said.

Czech Defense Minister Reaffirms Cooperation

AU1802113293 Warsaw PAP in English 1938 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] Wroclaw, Feb. 15—Czech Minister of Defence Antonin Baudys said in Wroclaw on Monday [15 February] that the Czech Republic would take over the legacy of military agreements signed in the past by Czechoslovakia.

Like before, cooperation between defence ministries of Poland and the Czech Republic will include the exchange of experience in modelling European security policies, joint participation in military inspections in third countries, and assistance in training career officers. The sides will notify one another about troops relocations in border-zone areas and flights made by military aircraft over the territories of Poland and the Czech Republic.

"Our objectives are convergent. Poland and the Czech Republic have common borders with NATO states. We equally desire joining the EC and, later on, NATO," Baudys said adding that from the Czech viewpoint, the Visegrad group cannot turn into a military alliance.

Polish Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that "we have extensively discussed these questions today and we have agreed that the mechanisms of consultation and modes of Visegrad activities have so far been sufficient. There is no reason, therefore, to contemplate another institution and our views on this problem are convergent."

A declaration on taking over CSFR's military agreements with Poland by the Czech Republic closed the talks between both defence ministries in Wroclaw on Monday.

Norwegian Defense Minister Arrives for Talks

LD1702160093 Warsaw PAP in English 1513 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 17—Norway's Minister of Defence Johan Jorgen Holst on Wednesday [17 February] arrived in Warsaw for a three-day official visit to discuss cooperation and European security with Polish politicians.

On Wednesday Holst is to meet Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, at whose invitation he is paying the visit, head of the Office of National Security attached to the Presidential Chancellery Jerzy Milewski and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Promises Help in NATO Transition

LD1702220193 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 17—Poland can expect Norway's assistance during adjustment to NATO standards when Poland becomes member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, spokesman for the Defence Ministry Leszek Ziolo said on Wednesday [17 February] after a meeting in Warsaw between Norwegian and Polish Defence Ministers Johan Jorgen Holst and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

According to Ziolo Norway perceives Poland as one of the most stable country in Central and Eastern Europe and one which contributes to the stabilization in the region.

Both defence ministers discussed, among other topics, the current situation in the former Soviet republics and prospects for cooperation among the Visegrad group countries.

During a meeting with head of the National Security Office attached to the Presidential Chancellery Jerzy Milewski held later in the day the Norwegian guest was briefed on the main assumptions of Poland's defence policy. Milewski stressed Poland's strivings to join NATO structures and simultaneously emphasized the significance of Poland's good relations with eastern neighbours.

In his talk with Milewski Minister Holst expressed an opinion that the broadening of NATO was connected with the drafting of a new concept of the alliance. The current situation in Europe presents a challenge to NATO which has to adjust its structures to new realities. NATO's new functions will go beyond the territory of its member-states, he stressed.

Minister Holst who arrived for a three-day offcial visit to Warsaw to discuss cooperation and European security with Polish politicians, met also on Wednesday with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and members of the Sejm (lower house) defence committee.

Walesa, Suchocka Criticize New German Asylum Law

LD1702225393 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 17—President Lech Walesa criticized German plans to introduce tighter asylum laws as destabilizing and unacceptable to Poland in their current form in an interview granted to the German DER SPIEGEL weekly news magazine on Wednesday [17 February].

"It is an important problem. We do not want to destabilize the situation in Germany, but we demand the same treatment," the president's press office quoted him as telling the weekly's reporters.

Walesa also stated that a compromise should be reached through discussion. "Poland will try to find a way of limiting the flow of asylum-seekers to Germany, but cannot agree to refugees from Germany being sent back to Poland and not to their own countries," he stressed.

Also on Wednesday, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka declared in an interview for the German ZDF television

that Poland was ready to sign an agreement with Germany defining in detail matters connected with asylum rights and asylum-seekers but it could not agree to admit all those foreigners who had been refused asylum before such an agreement was concluded.

Suchocka pointed to the complicated problem that the influx of citizens of the neighbouring eastern countries posed for Poland, and said Poland will most probably introduce this March invitation forms for visitors from the east containing detailed data. The prime minister stressed, however, that at the moment Poland was not planning to introduce visas for citizens of her eastern neighbours.

Under the planned new asylum law to come into effect in Germany thousands of refugees refused asylum are to be sent back to Poland as one of the transit countries unless a compromise is reached on the issue.

German Asylum Law Could Prompt Refugee 'Flood'

AU1802132993 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Feb 93 pp 1, 2

[Wojciech Luczak report: "Railroad Station Poland"]

[Text] Poland can expect a flood of refugees asking for political asylum here in the near future when the EC countries begin to gradually tighten their borders, according to Marek Jedrys, deputy director of the European Department at the Foreign Ministry.

We are not prepared legally, financially, or organizationally for such a thing. The new German asylum law will take effect in the spring, and put an end to the old liberal procedures enabling people to stay in Germany for several years simply by uttering the magic word "asylum." Following the changes in Germany, we are prepared to fulfill the terms of the 1991 agreement on readmission (whose signing lifted visa requirements for Poles) and admit to Poland all Poles and non-Poles expelled from Germany after attempting to cross the Polish-German border illegally. The recent talks in Bonn concerned Poland's eventual acceptance of all aliens who crossed the German border, applied for political asylum, and failed to receive it between 1991 and the day when the new law comes into effect.

The number of German asylum seekers continues to grow. Some 430,000 people asked for political asylum in Germany in 1992 and 36,000 did so in January 1993. Most of these entered Germany illegally from Czechoslovakia. Neither Prague nor Budapest have signed with Germany the kind of agreement on readmission which Poland signed in 1991. Germany has no legal basis on which to ask Hungary or the Czech Republic to accept the illegal immigrants. Therefore, the Czech Government has no intention of accepting people who fail to receive political asylum in Germany. Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml has said so to Johannes Voecking, secretary of state in the German Interior Ministry.

Therefore, the German Government has decided to tighten its borders. One thousand guards have been transferred to the eastern border. The Border Guard intends to employ 1,600 auxiliary policemen, who will be deployed along the borders with Poland and the Czech Republic.

In such a situation, all we can do is tighten our own border in anticipation of the end of the asylum El Dorado in Germany. We understand that Bonn is prepared to finance the construction of refugee shelters in Poland and help improve working conditions for our border guards. We are probably oblivious to the avalanche of problems which the new German asylum law will create, probably as early as May. Mr. Jedrys says that Poland is already considering concluding readmission agreements with Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Romania, similar to the one concluded with Germany. The first signals are encouraging. Bucharest is prepared to conclude such an agreement with Poland.

Press Secretary Comments on Budget

AU1702183193 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15 Feb 93 p 2

["jbg" report: "There Are Chances of Success"]

[Text] We asked Zdobyslaw Milewski, the prime minister's press secretary, for a comment on the budget.

"The budget is one of the most important pieces of legislation to be dealt with by parliament," he said. "When one bears in mind all the commentaries that preceded the final vote on the budget, one can certainly say that its adoption is a success; after all, a majority of 23 votes in this Sejm of ours is a large majority, although there could have been an even larger one. If only it were possible to achieve such a majority on every single important issue.

"There is only one fact, an important one, that spoils our joy; this is yet another very tough budget, which, unfortunately, contains insufficient funds for all the areas that the government considers urgent and would like to implement. One area where there are insufficient funds is for public sector wages. The government realizes that these wages should be higher, and will try to make them so. Let us recall the finance minister's declaration that if budget income turns out to be higher than expected, the surplus will be spent on these wages.

"With such a tough budget, there is no use discussing its advantages to Poland. I prefer instead to discuss the dangers we have avoided by adopting this budget. Most of all, we have avoided the danger of inflation—that hidden tax that takes away money from everyone, especially those with regular incomes, i.e. people in the public sector, not to mention farmers, who have a fixed production cycle. We have also preserved our credibility in the eyes of our foreign partners concerning major economic talks. Therefore we have preserved the security of our economy, permitting us to consider calmly

how to preserve the economic growth that is taking shape. I think this is quite an achievement, and thanks to this, in one year's time we will be able to discuss the real advantages felt by everyone owing to the increased thickness of their wallets. I very much hope that this will happen."

Commentary Views Sejm Vote on Budget

AU1602203893 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13-14 Feb 93 p 1

[Bozena Wawrzewska commentary]

[Text] One of the most dramatic debates during this Sejm's term of office has drawn to a close. The finale of the discussion on the budget took place under political pressure from the government and the president, instead of in an atmosphere of calm deliberation. The executive, which cooperated harmoniously on this issue, made it necessary for parliament to assume an unambiguous declaration. Faced with the threat of dissolution, the Sejm passed the budget in the form proposed by the government, although that had seemed impossible, to judge by the almost three months of debate about it. Thus, the passing of the budget is undoubtedly the result of fears about the dissolution of parliament and new elections, of concern about a possible cabinet crisis as well as common sense; it seems that it had least of all to do with the budget itself.

Perhaps the law is imperfect; one can voice a whole series of reservations about it. Its implementation will undoubtedly cause the standard of living of many people to fall. However, with state finances in their present condition, the failure to adopt the budget might have had catastrophic consequences, and that has fortunately now been avoided.

Walesa Denies Making Reported Comments on Budget

LD1602204593 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—President Lech Walesa on Tuesday did not confirm his statement made in an interview for the POLITYKA weekly that he would seek early elections even if the budget is adopted by the Sejm (lower house). "That was only one of the possibilities I was considering," he said.

The president also denied the suggestion that he had preferred the budget bill not to be enacted because that would allow him to dissolve parliament. He said he is motivated by the interests of the country which must have a budget whose quality, whether one likes it or not, depends on the government and parliament.

The president remarked, however, that similarly to a large portion of the nation he himself was not impressed by the budget because it solves many questions differently than he would like them to be solved.

Asked whether he would run for president once again he said he would have to think it over and consult his wife and kids. As far as his candidate is concerned, he said he did not find one yet because his own term is to continue for three years more.

Mr. Walesa assured that he might decide to hold early presidential elections if a new constitution establishes a different formal and legal configuration in the country, but he would never do so under pressure of his opponents' criticism which, he said, "Are ridiculous and I can prove their being ridiculous within five minutes."

Suchocka: Budget Surplus To Finance Wage Hikes

LD1702220093 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 17—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, during a Wednesday [17 February] meeting with "Solidarity" leader Marian Krzaklewski and the representatives of public-sector sections of the union, assured that in case of a budgetary surplus the extra funds will be earmarked for the increase in remunerations of budget-paid employees.

Suchocka declared the government's readiness to negotiate on the issue but within the limits of existing law and available financial means, as Suchocka's press secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski put it.

According to Krzaklewski the "Solidarity" trade union, that entered a collective dispute with the government a week ago, is not satisfied with the amount of funds allocated to the budget-paid sector. The union demands the valorization of remunerations, the withdrawal of the decision related to a 5-per-cent reduction in the wages' fund and insists that organizational and legal changes in the sector be implemented.

Before the talks the unionist did not rule out the possibility of launching a strike action of teachers and health care employees. Opinions of whether the meeting averted the threat of the strike were divided. Final decisions related to the strike action belong to authorities of public-sector sections that will meet within the coming days. Talks between "Solidarity" and the government are to resume on Monday.

The Wednesday meeting between the prime minister and the Solidarity leader was substantially delayed due to an accident involving Krzaklewski's car on his way from Gdansk to Warsaw. However, talks between "Solidarity" officials representing public- sector workers and Labour Minister Jacek Kuron started as planned and continued after Suchocka and Krzaklewski left the meeting.

Walesa Swears In New Culture Minister

LD1702152293 Warsaw PAP in English 1324 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 17—Jerzy Goral was Wednesday sworn in as culture minister by President Lech Walesa in the presence of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

The newly-appointed minister will be introduced to the ministry by Ms Suchocka later in the day.

Democracy Defense Body Calls For Early Election

AU1702095293 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—The main goal of the Committee for the Defence of Democracy is to hold new presidential elections as soon as possible, the committee's initiative group announced today.

The group includes representatives of the Christian-Democratic Labour Party, Centre Alliance, and the Movement of the Third Republic of Poland. It will be coordinated by a political commission whose members are Tomasz Jackowski (Christian-Democratic Labour Party), Jaroslaw Kaczynski (Centre alliance), and Jan Parys (Movement of the Third Republic of Poland).

The commission is of the opinion that the policy pursued by President Lech Walesa, who is "building an autocratic system in Poland," is "the most dangerous symptom of the threats facing the developing democracy" in this country.

In its declaration on cooperation, the commission said that Poland's reason of state requires the "rejection of the communist past, and especially of the round table deal which distributed power and influence on various spheres of life among the old establishment and part of the then opposition and which are guaranteed, as it turns out today, by the Internal Ministry archives."

The committee will seek the adoption of a new constitution, new economic policy, restructuring of the state administration, and admission of Poland into the North Atlantic Alliance and European security structures.

Walesa Comments on Election Campaign Participation

LD1602223793 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] In the course of "An Hour with the President" evening program of Radio Free Europe, Lech Walesa stressed that society ought to play a major role in the construction of democracy. The president also commented on the rallies outside the Belweder Palace:

[Begin Walesa recording] If there will be arguments about a new constitution, even the small one, then this constitution exists now, when I am already into my term of office, and so perhaps it would be appropriate to carry through my verification. I am ready to accept such arguments, for they are considered and logical. On the other hand, the arguments that I lost in the Sejm and so I will find an argument to stand down in the streets, such arguments I will not accept because I too am capable of holding rallies, and I can meet in the middle of the street and measure who has the bigger rally. Let us decide what game we are playing. I, in every one of these games, am not so weak. If I participate in the electoral campaign, if I show how much I have done, and how I did it, the way I did it, if I show how I want to continue to do it, I am convinced that society will accept this, for to no (?extent), in no matter, have I betrayed. [end recording]

Center Right Opposes Establishment of Euroregions

LD1702161593 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 17—"An attempt to dismantle the Polish state and the submission of integral parts of its territory to the dictates of foreign states and powers under the guise of European economic cooperation", is the manner in which the Centre-Right Coordination Commission regards the establishment of the Pomeranian, Silesian and Carpathian Euroregions in a communique issued in Krakow on Wednesday.

The commission which is composed of the Christian Democracy, the Malopolski Citizens Committee, the Freedom Party, Christian-National Movement-Polish Action, the Movement for the Republic of Poland, the Movement for the Third Republic of Poland, the Party of Loyalty to the Republic of Poland and the Center Alliance (PC) with observer status.

It regards all moves aimed at establishing "Euroregions" as one of the "obvious tendencies of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Democratic Union (UD) of making Poland play a provincial role in the great European state."

The authors of the communique swear that they will do everything in their power to bring "those persons involved in the dismantling of Poland before the courts."

Solidarity's Political 'Dilemmas' Viewed

AU1802135693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Feb 93 p 2

[Tomasz Zukowski commentary: "The Dilemmas of Solidarity"]

[Text] On 11 February, the Solidarity National Commission voted overwhelmingly against the government's draft budget, considering it unacceptable from the union's point of view. The next day, some Solidarity deputies ignored the commission's position and actually voted for the draft budget in the Sejm. The budget was passed, and thus the deputies in question contributed to the government's success.

These two events have been construed in various ways. For some people, they illustrate the "populism" of trade unionists and the "responsibility" of their representatives in parliament, and for others they illustrate the "disloyalty" and even "treachery" of the Solidarity parliamentarians.

The essence of the problem lies elsewhere. Solidarity, the largest ruling political structure in Poland, and better organized than any political party, is now facing a great dilemma.

The dilemma is how to be, on the one hand, an effective trade union, and on the other hand a part of the changing political and economic scene; and how to, on the one hand, support social changes leading to even wider social disproportions and to the emergence of a class of private entrepreneurs, and on the other hand protect the interests of the common workers. This dilemma emerged at the same time as the victory of the Solidarity movement and the adoption of the economic strategy which is continuing to this day, albeit with modifications.

At first, the discrepancies between these two roles for Solidarity were not great. Of greater importance was the gradual assumption of political and economic power and the revision of the old order. The easing of tensions was also aided by the mass advancement of the most energetic workers and their trade union leaders, who transferred to the private sector, the administration, and politics. There was still a universal conviction at that time about the need for reforms and their accompanying sacrifices.

But as time went by, the discrepancy between these roles began to increase. Excessively sharp conflicts were prevented by the fact that many workers became disaffected, lost the will to be active, and withdrew from social life. High emotions among individuals were channeled into the union's open disputes with successive governments and subsequent negotiations.

As we can see, there is nothing new about last week's events. Solidarity has already criticized the government many times, and Solidarity parliamentarians, in the process of becoming accustomed to their new role, have gradually changed their point of view, with the result that may of them have left Solidarity altogether and joined various parties.

Perhaps Solidarity's current trouble is just another symptom of trying to cope with its old dilemma, but it could also be a symptom of a new situation. For the last three years, Solidarity has had practically no real competition. The OPZZ [All-Polish Trade Union Confederation], still burdened with its "original sin" (because it was created by means of a top-level decision during the martial law period), could not be a proper competitor for Solidarity, and "Solidarity 80" was still in the shadow of its older brother.

This state of affairs gradually began to change, however. The authority of the Solidarity camp began to wear out, symbols became less important, and personal intersts more important. More and more workers began to criticize the government's policies, and even more did so as a result of the strikes in July and August last year. Real competitors of Solidarity appeared, though still politically and organizationally weaker than Solidarity itself.

Workers left the state sector, thus closing the door on their advancement. New, more radical factory activists appeared. The social effects of the reforms (unemployment and the poor financial condition of state enterprises and the public sector in general) have become a bigger problem for many.

All these factors are forcing the union to adopt a more militant tone toward a government that is still pursuing a "harsh" economic policy. Unless a more tangible economic growth occurs, a new Solidarity dilemma may arise—what kind of government economic strategy is acceptable to the union, and what should be done to stop Solidarity from losing ground to more radical competitors.

In such a case, the authors of the general strategy of the ruling camp will have to reconsider their policies vis-a-vis workers, especially the majority of workers still connected with the state sector. Should the activities of these workers be curbed in order to stop them from disturbing the adopted path of change (assuming that they will approve of the ownership changes in Poland), or should these workers, in order to prevent an uprising, be involved more broadly in the process of changes, thus necessitating an alteration of strategy?

Deputy Labor Minister Reports on Unemployment

AU1402145893 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Feb 93 p 3

["jol"-signed report: "2.5 Million Without Jobs"]

[Text] The number of unemployed registered at labor offices at the end of January was 2,584,000, which is 14 percent of the working population. "There were 74,700 more people unemployed than at the end of December," said Deputy Minister Boni at a news conference yesterday. Of those newly registered as unemployed, the largest group consists of people who are not entitled to benefits.

Most of them live in the voivodships of Koszalin, Suwalki, Olsztyn, Slupsk, Elblag, and Walbrzych. "The regions that are most threatened by unemployment are agricultural ones that are economically underdeveloped and where most of the land is in the hands of state farms," said Boni. "Most of the unemployed in those voivodships have little education and they have to be taught completely new occupations. The ministry is already working on a retraining program."

The minister added that the World Bank has allocated $300 million for improving living conditions in the countryside (gas mains, water lines, etc.) The money

could be used for public works projects for, among others, state farm employees who have been laid off.

In January, 176,700 people were newly registered as unemployed. Every fifth person newly registered as unemployed in January lost his job as a result of mass layoffs. In addition, 5,200 graduates, mainly of basic and secondary vocational schools, registered as unemployed. The number of people deregistering as unemployed was 102,000. Almost 47,500 found work through labor offices, with the remainder employed on public works and short-term state projects or becoming retirement or other benefit recipients.

Employers intend to dismiss 72,600 people in the near future in the course of mass layoffs.

In January, labor offices received 35,000 job offers (25,800 in December), of which almost 80 percent were for workers. There are 106 persons for every job offer. Only 1,295 job offers were for disabled people.

In January, labor offices sent about 6,500 people on training and vocational courses. More than 14,000 people, over 3,000 more than in December, were sent to work on short-term state projects.

"Every month by which approval of the budget is delayed means the loss of about 400 billion zlotys for the labor fund," said Boni, "because the budget law increases the contributions paid by work places into the fund from 2 to 3 percent this year."

Silesian Miners, Other Workers To Resume Strike

LD1802030093 Warsaw PAP in English 2338 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Katowice, Feb. 17—Silesian miners, steelworkers and railway workers responding to a call from the Solidarity trade union will go on strike on Thursday [18 February].

The inter-industrial regional strike committee of the Solidarity Slask-Dabrowa chapter meeting on Wednesday decided to "resume the strike action as of Feb. 18," chairman of the committee Grzegorz Kolosa said on Wednesday.

In a resolution passed today, the committee said that it "supports the stand of the Solidarity's national presidium of Feb. 16, concerning the negative evaluation of the tax law passed by the Sejm (lower house) on Feb. 11 that further lowers family incomes."

The committee "demands the amendment of the tax law..., the acceleration of the process of the reduction of debts of state enterprises and speedy introduction of regulations easing the law on the excessive wage increase tax..."

Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski, who arrived in Katowice late Wednesday evening, met with activists of the Slask-Dabrowa chapter and representatives of strike committees.

During the meeting, Krzaklewski supported the motives behind today's decision on staging the strike action, Maciej Muzyczuk, spokesman for the Slask-Dabrowa chapter said.

According to union activists, railway workers plan a 30-minute stoppage of all trains at three major railway junctions in the Silesian region.

Miners plan to hold a 24-hour strike while steelworkers from the Katowice province intend to stage a 1-hour work stoppage.

Thursday's strike action is the first such large scale protest since the suspension of an almost three-week general strike on Jan. 4 which involved some 350 thousand miners.

Meanwhile, the board of the Solidarity Piotrkow Trybunalski chapter announced on Wednesday it will block all roads leading to Piotrkow for an hour on Friday.

The action is to be held to protest "against mismanagement and unemployment, against state administration's improper policy pursued in the province," reads a communique issued by the local Solidarity authorities.

According to union sources, out of 650 thousand people living in the Piotrkow Trybunalski Province, 63 thousand are unemployed and almost half of them were deprived of the right to unemployment benefits.

In a separate development, representatives of some one hundred shop-level union organizations affiliated in the Central Poland chapter of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) on Wednesday expressed their "strong protest" in view of the fact that the government, despite adopted obligations, has not appointed a plenipotentiary for the restructuring of the regions industry.

In a letter addressed to Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, OPZZ activists threatened to begin a protest action, giving the government the Feb. 22 deadline to appoint such plenipotentiary, Zbigniew Kaniewski, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of the Light Industry said on Wednesday.

Iliescu Addresses NATO Council

AU1702124693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1033 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at NATO Council headquarters in Brussels—in English with superimposed translation into Romanian; live; following is from the Romanian]

[Text] Mr. Secretary General, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen;

I would like to express my great satisfaction at the opportunity to address this important body of the North Atlantic Alliance, which is a defender of democratic values and of human rights principles. We consider this visit both as expression of the future partnership relationship between Romania and NATO and a clear signal of the desire to further develop and enrich these relations.

Relations with NATO are of first priority for Romania, within the process of our integration in the Euro-Atlantic structures. This is an irreversible option determined by my country's attachment to the firm values of democracy and the market economy. Thanks to its composition, NATO has succeeded in maintaining stability in Europe during the cold war period. In the new international conditions, this organization continues to play an important role, since it represents—for Romania and the other countries in this part of Europe—an important element in building the European structures. We welcome NATO's decision to play an even greater role through its involvement in the CSCE process, particularly with regard to preventing conflicts, mastering crisis situations, and improving the mechanism to solve disputes.

Romania, like the other countries in Eastern and Central Europe, is strongly interested in ensuring its internal stability and external security, by taking into account both the structural changes occurring in Romanian society and the new international situation. The development and even the aggravation of existing conflicts as well as various other contradictory processes are affecting a zone of civilization which is basically [word indistinct].

Today, Europe as a geopolitical entity is subjected to various pressures. In one sense, we are witnessing the crystallization of the idea of a united Europe and a long process of economic integration and political coordination of Western countries. On the other hand, in the eastern and central parts of Europe, we see a period of redefining their identity and international status. This situation brought about not only the collapse of the old Warsaw Pact as a collective defense structure, but also the dismantling of the established regional system of economic cooperation. The federal system in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia collapsed and new states have emerged. This added to the pressure at regional and global level. We have also seen the resurrection and exacerbation of some older problems, such as the problem of nationalities, or the advent of new ones, such as territorial disputes, the presence of armed forces on the territory of other countries—like in Moldova and the Baltic countries—the separation process in states that have won their independence, and the splintering of the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union.

We consider the exacerbation of economic differences between the new democracies and the developed countries in the West as one of the main factors of insecurity on our old continent. Generally speaking, we believe that, through cooperation among all European states, a new philosophy of collective security may emerge, by taking into consideration the real international context and expanding mutual trust, good neighborliness, and cooperation at local and regional level.

NATO has shown that it is an organization that has most rapidly adjusted to the new changes in Europe. We particularly appreciated the development of the partnership concept, which took concrete shape with the emergence of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which Mr. Manfred Woerner characterized as conveying a new dimension of the alliance. I would like to emphasize Romania's interest in cooperation within the North Atlantic Cooperation Council framework to achieve enhanced mutual confidence, arms control and disarmament, the conversion of the military industry, cooperation between civilians and military in the democratic societies, and participation in peacekeeping operations.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to NATO Secretary General Mr. Manfred Woerner, the North Atlantic Council, and the alliance member countries for this constructive policy of developing relations with the other members of the Cooperation Council. The support by NATO of the principles of partnership and the indivisibility of member countries makes us think that we have reached a new qualitative level of cooperation.

I hope you share our view that Romania's geostrategic position has an ever greater significance after the emergence of new states in the region. Since this an area with a great potential for conflict, Romania is an ever more important element of stability for the efforts of the Euro-Atlantic community to ensure regional security.

We are deeply worried by the tragic events in the area of former Yugoslavia. We hope that the international efforts undertaken at Geneva and the London conference, efforts that are now continuing in New York, will find a political solution to this dramatic conflict, which has already had a negative impact on the region and the whole of Europe. Subscribing to the path chosen in solving the Yugoslav crisis and unreservedly supporting the initiatives of the European Community, the United Nations, the United States, as well as NATO, Romania is determined to fulfill its obligations under the UN Security Council resolutions regarding the observation and monitoring of the embargo imposed against Serbia and Montenegro. Romania and other Danube states are very active in this respect.

Mr. NATO Secretary General, Ladies and Gentlemen, Your Excellencies: Romania has made important steps toward democracy, the rule of law, and a market economy. This process is still in progress. Although it is faced with great difficulties inherent to the transition process and with unfavorable regional and international circumstances, Romania has managed to maintain its stability and is quite determined to make all necessary efforts to remain a point of stability in its region.

Cooperation with and support from European and Euro-Atlantic organizations can facilitate a significant acceleration of Romania's development and integration in the Western structures, in keeping with its vital interests of economic prosperity and of belonging to this cultural area as well as with its security aspirations. I would like to emphasize that our pro-Europe and Euro-Atlantic policy enjoys the support of all political parties in Romania. Representatives of four parliamentary political groups are together with us here, at this meeting. I can say that this amounts to a true national consensus.

I take this opportunity to express Romania's deep satisfaction over the signing of the EEC association accord at the beginning of this month, an event of great political and economic consequence for present and future times. We also welcome the positive evolution, in the last two years, of our relations with the Western European Union [WEU]. Like other states from Central and Eastern Europe, Romania wants to obtain the status of associated country. As part of its strategy to give priority to the promotion of relations with other European states, Romania has signed a network of basic bilateral treaties in the last three years. These treaties were conceived as basic legal instruments designed to create a new framework of cooperation with France, Germany, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Poland, Belarus, Estonia; similar treaties are now under negotiation with Hungary, Ukraine, Belgium, Latvia, Lithuania, and other countries.

Romania will continue to promote a policy of good-neighborliness with all states in the region, on the basis of common interests, democratic values, and the principles of international law. At the same time, Romania is striving to implement several regional projects, aimed at better utilizing the economic potential of the Black Sea and the Danubian basin, with the participation and to the benefit of all participating countries.

In a coherent vision, the promotion of partnership relations and the gradual preparation of the ground for integration in NATO and the other European structures, are priority strategic objectives. Active participation in the CSCE process and subregional cooperation and the establishment of a network of bilateral treaties are Romania's main guidelines in its efforts to ensure its national security and regional security by political means. We hope that this visit at the NATO headquarters as well as our talks today and their follow-up will make an important contribution to strengthening ties between Romania and the North Atlantic alliance and protecting the peace and security interests of the Romanian people and the whole region.

We thank NATO and the member countries for everything they have done for Romania so far and we rely upon and hope for further cooperation with this pillar of stability and new order in Europe.

Thank you very much. We welcome our entering NATO headquarters for this visit, as a step toward Romania's future entry into this organization as a member country. Thank you very much.

Vacaroiu Holds Talks with NATO Delegation

AU1702213593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The meeting between Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and the delegation of the NATO East-West Subcommission for Cooperation and Economic Convergence headed by Mr. Gerard Gaud ended at Victoria Palace approximately an hour ago.

As our reporter accredited to the government informed us, during the discussion the Romanian prime minister emphasized the importance of Romania's association accord with the European structures, something that offers our country great opportunities for economic, commercial, and other exchanges with the EEC member countries.

The prime minister pointed out that the adoption of recent laws which favor foreign investment in our country will turn Romania into a great area of attraction for European investors.

In turn, the delegation members expressed their interest in the reform strategy in our country, in the government program aimed at social protection, and in the development of the Romanian economy along the road to privatization and a free market.

In a statement made exclusively for our radio station after the interview, Mr. Gerard Gaud expressed his satisfaction with having the opportunity to visit our country, which has embarked on the road of modernization and democracy.

Defense Minister Meets NATO Delegates

AU1702195693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/2/1993—The delegation of the Subcommission on East-West Economic Cooperation and Convergence of the North-Atlantic Assembly Economic Commission, headed by French parliamentarian Gerard Gaud, now visiting Romania, had an interview on February 17 with Romanian Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu.

The parties exchanged views on the international situation and the future of Europe, the economic and social consequences of the arms cuts on the labour market, the

turning of equipment and technologies to civil purposes, matter of regional development and cooperation.

Gerard Gaud emphasised the Romanian Armed Forces' role in maintaining the country's stability and its contribution to the process of democratization of society, highlighting that the fact was well perceived in Western Europe.

Iliescu, WEU Leader Discuss Ties, Cooperation

AU1802100093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0620 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] Brussels ROMPRES 18/2/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu had an interview on February 17 in Brussels with the secretary-general of the Western European Union to whom he reiterated Romania's resolution to develop ever closer relations with that organization and get the status of its associate.

In his talk with Willem van Eekelen the Romanian head of state assessed that the WEU was "the European mainstay" of the security structures of the Euro-Atlantic space, highlighting Romania's interest in joining that organization that can guarantee the Romanian people's national security. We welcome the positive evolution these last two years of the relations with the WEU, President Iliescu said.

President Iliescu emphasized Romania's wish to work toward an ever greater convergence with the EC states and for an ever more intense cooperation in the international organizations.

Stressing Romania's special interest in full membership of the Council of Europe, the Romanian head of state asked for the WEU secretary-general's support in this respect.

Romania is interested in participating in the activities of the working group on the Mediterranean of the WEU Standing Council and also in consolidating its cooperation with the West-European military organization in such domains as averting conflicts, settling crisis situations and peace-keeping operations, President Ion Iliescu stressed. In that context, he told the WEU secretary-general Romania wanted to work out together with the WEU joint programs of military equipment, and was interested in participating in the setting up of a European agency on armament, under WEU auspices. "We are ready to invite WEU representatives to watch the Romanian Armed Forces' military activities and would be glad to have Romanian representatives invited to similar activities unfolded by the WEU," the Romanian president said, also appreciating the usefulness of a multilateral mechanism for communications and consultations between the ten (WEU members) and the nine (of Central Europe).

The Romanian president invited Secretary-General Willem van Eekelen to visit Bucharest again.

Arab Parliamentarians Hold News Conference

AU1602124293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] The news conference held at Senate headquarters by the delegation of the Arab Interparliamentary Union ended a short time ago. As the delegation chief, Mr. 'Abd-al-Rahman Burawi, said, the vested aim of this visit was to relaunch relations between the Arab countries and Romania. He also specified that this was the first visit of an Arab Interparliamentary Union delegation to Romania since 1989 and that the issues discussed with the Romanian authorities emphasized the close positions both Romania and the Arab countries hold regarding the solution of major problems such as the Middle East conflict and the Yugoslav crisis.

The Arab parliamentarians expressed satisfaction with the changes that have occurred in Romania's political area, and, they expressed their interest in developing cooperation in such fields as tourism and oil and in the acquisition of Romanian agricultural machinery.

The representative of the Iraqi Parliament, Doctor Safa Saleh al Omar specified that his country's authorities continue to abide by all contract obligations of Iraq, including its debts to Romania. The Iraqi parliamentarian specified, however, that Iraq will not be able to fulfill these obligations until the international embargo imposed against Iraq by the Security Council is lifted, because Iraq is not permitted to sell its oil reserves nor use its funds abroad.

As our reporter, Dan Preda, informed us, the Arab delegation also met with members of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate this morning.

Parliamentarians Pleased With Visit

AU1602183893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1634 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/2/1993—'Abd-al-Rahman Burawi, secretary-general of the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, now visiting Romania at head of a union delegation, told the press on February 16 that he was pleased with the results of the visit, the purpose of which was to spur the relations in every domain of mutual interest between Romania and the Arab world. He recalled they invited a Romanian parliamentary delegation to call at the union's Damascus headquarters and visit Arab countries in the union membership.

Speaking of the observance of the economic duties to Romania, Safa Saleh al Omar, a member of the Iraqi Parliament, reiterated his country's pledge to pay off its duties. Because of the embargo imposed on Iraq two years ago, it was unable to export oil and to use the money it kept in foreign banks, so it was forced to postpone the payment of its debts, he showed.

Minister Cites Embargo's 'Negative Consequences'

AU1802101293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0805 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/2/1993—"The embargo imposed over Serbia and Montenegro seriously affects Romania's economy," is the opinion of Romania's minister of foreign trade, Constantin Teculescu, in an interview published in the daily MERIDIAN. "The stop to the economic collaboration with Serbia and Montenegro, as a result of the restrictions imposed under UN resolutions will bear long-term negative consequences, taking into consideration the difficulties Romania encounters in this period," appreciated Mr. Teculescu. "The restrictions imposed by the UN Security Council have put an end to various industrial cooperation in the chemical and petrochemical field, for example, (the collaboration between Solventul Timisoara and the Pancevo Combine), and seriously affected the machine-building, the electronic and electrotechnical industries and power engineering." Taking into consideration these circumstances, the Romanian minister of foreign trade appreciated that "international fora together with major developing countries, should answer positively to Romania's requests for compensations to its heavy loss."

Government Continues Export Bans on Some Goods

AU1802101693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0745 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/2/1993—"Some products are banned at export while others are limited to specified quantities in order to protect domestic suppliers, to preserve natural resources, to back up the economy with needed raw materials and foodstuff for the use of population" said Constantin Teculescu, minister of commerce.

The minister named some of the banned products such as: Electric energy, iron ore, non-ferrous concentrates, gold and silver bearing concentrates, methane gas, certain medicines, foodstuff.

A number of 27 groups of products restricted at export in 1992, have been reconsidered for 1993 on the proposals of the industry and agriculture ministries.

"Due to the scarcity of certain foodstuffs to be supplied to the population, some foodstuffs have been imposed with diminished taxes or even tax exempted," said Teculescu, adding that "the Ministry of Commerce will present a privatisation program for the commercial companies so that the privatisation process be fulfilled until 1995."

Need To Stop Economic Decline, Inflation Stressed

AU1602111493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/2/1993—"The key issue for us is economy, a stop to financial blocking and to overcome some difficult aspects: Economic decline, a stop to the inflation, a lowering of the unemployment rate and the elaboration of a long-term programme to draw some major orientations regarding national economic reshaping," said Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, in an interview granted exclusively for the newspaper CRONICA ROMANA of 15 February.

Drawing some aspects of the current economic situation, the head of the Romanian state stressed that the situation of bigger exports surpassing lower imports last year has to be adjusted. "All imports are financed from a single source, which has to come either from the interior and on the basis of operated exports, or from foreign credits, which are extremely low and difficult to obtain," said President Iliescu. "We have to find out solutions, for otherwise we will be forced to stop imports. There is no other way?" The head of the Romanian state appealed for "unanimous understanding and collaboration of all economic factors, be they governmental or private agents, for balancing the national economy. To win political capital out of this issue is considerably unproductive," said Ion Iliescu. In his opinion, the reform "implies an extremely comprehensive analysis, the elaboration of a more clear concept framework, the setting up of a programme of priorities, as well as of positive effects on social life. And for all these we need the population's support," the president went on.

Romania's president appreciated that 1993 would be a difficult year. "It gathers all past three years effects of the crisis, of the decline, of inflation, of unemployment and of a disbalance between incomes and prices on the market, with a resulting social climate, that is the programme of governing too. As a consequence, the elaboration of the budget is extremely difficult," said the head of the Romanian state.

Vacaroiu Meets Aircraft Industry Union Leaders

AU1502204693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/2/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu met on February 15 the leaders of the National Trade Union Federation of the Aeronautics Industry and the leaders of unions of four aircraft constructors from Bacau, Brasov, Craiova, and Bucharest, leaders who had joined a protest march in Bucharest, earlier in the morning. The discussions concerned the present situation of the aircraft industry and the claims of the people working in this field.

Adrian Zarnea, president of the National Trade Union Federation, said at the end of the talks that "the meeting and the marching of today aimed to support domestic

aeronautics industry which employs a large number of highly qualified experts and heavily sustains national defence capacity."

A release of the government press office announces that the premier explained that the government considered the issues concerning the aeronautics industry and contacted foreign business partners in order to revigorate the production in this field.

Cerveni's PNL-CD Rejects Unification Offer

AU1502112493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 10 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Nicolae Cerveni, leader of the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention (PNL-CD), by Aura Dobrea; place and date not given: "Liberalism Is Not a Monopoly Ideology"]

[Excerpts] [Cerveni] Before answering your questions, I would like to briefly recall the history of the party's founding. The National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD] was founded in April 1992, following differences that have emerged between me and Mr. Radu Campeanu [president of the National Liberal Party-PNL] regarding our remaining in or leaving the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. [passage omitted] At that time I was PNL vice president. Many members of that party wanted to leave the Convention, while others wanted to stay. Meanwhile, another group was set up within the PNL, which wanted to remain in the Convention but wanted the CDR's statutes to be brought into discussion. I realized then that there can be no agreement on this, and given PNL's imminent exit from the CDR, I listened to the advice of some friends and set up the PNL-CD, on the structure of the former Liberal Socialist Party. [passage omitted]

[Dobrea] Who and what has caused the current conflicts within the PNL-CD?

[Cerveni] [passage omitted] Unfortunately, I made a great mistake, without realizing it at the time. I invited Mr. Vintila Bratianu to return home, proceeding from the idea that the illustrious name of Bratianu [founders of the historical PNL] may act as a catalyzer for the liberals in Romania. Obviously, he agreed to that. When he came, we proclaimed him president. The party statutes did not provide for such a position. Therefore, he was appointed as a kind of honorary president. This means that he was never the president of PNL-CD, for the simple reason that this position did not exist. We still had a provisional leadership, consisting of an interim Executive Bureau. The enthusiasm of Mr. Bratianu's return did not last very long. It became apparent that he did not have the slightest notion of political ideology. Aside from being the descendent of the illustrious Bratianu family, he lacks any kind of qualifications. In spite of these shortcomings, Mr. Bratianu showed certain totally undemocratic tendencies, by simply trying to confiscate the party for himself. In his endeavors, he was bound to clash with us, those from the Executive Bureau, and this is how the conflict broke out. On top of all this, he also came with some preconceived ideas about the unification of the liberal movement.

[Dobrea] What did you not like about his unification project?

[Cerveni] The unification offer made to us by the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT] does not satisfy us. On the contrary, it gives us the impression that we are going to be swallowed up and wiped out as a party. Mr. Bratianu campaigned for this kind of unification. This has led to a further worsening of the conflict between us.

[Dobrea] Are there also personal interests at the roots of this conflict?

[Cerveni] You are absolutely right. I am also accused of this. Some people say that the unification is being blocked by my fear of no longer being party president. This is totally false. Had I really had such an ego, nobody could have stopped me from preserving the party I set up in 1990. I would not have gone to Mr. Campeanu to end up with the position of one of seven or eight vice presidents. Likewise, I would not have called Mr. Bratianu from Paris, to appoint him "president." On the other hand, there is no doubt that I also have my own ambitions.

UNHCR Closing Up Sarajevo Aid Operation

AU1802123893 Paris AFP in English 1235 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Report by Hugh Nevill]

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 18 (AFP)—U.N. officials began mothballing their massive aid operation in Bosnia-Hercegovina on Thursday [18 February] as besieged Moslem populations continued to endure with little food and often no medical supplies at all.

Convoys on the road with chances of getting through to their destinations were continuing, but those that were blocked were returning to their bases, said UNHCR [Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees] Sarajevo official Tony Land.

The 6,500-strong U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] deployed in Bosnia-Hercegovina to escort the convoys is meanwhile assessing its role here in light of a decision by U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata to suspend almost all relief operations in this part of the former Yugoslavia, said UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer.

One convoy, to Gorazde, in the east, is halted by Serb troops at Rogatica on the road there from Sarajevo, but—exceptionally—that aid is being transported in military trucks by military drivers.

French General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is vowing that convoy will go through, even though the Serbs turned back the last three weekly convoys to Gorazde in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina.

UNHCR staff in Sarajevo—who heard about Ogata's decision from news reports—were cleaning out their offices, trucks were being parked for the duration, and 1,000 tonnes of aid at Sarajevo airport were being secured. Aid that had overflowed warehouses there was packed in waterproof containers, Land said.

Morillon meanwhile drove to the nearby Serb stronghold of Pale in a bid to negotiate passage for the Gorazde column.

Land said a convoy that has been trying to break through to the villages of Konjevic and Kamenica in the east since Sunday, but has remained blocked on the Serbian side of the Drina river, would remain in place for the moment.

Kamenica has fallen to the Serbs, according to reports from the area, which say it is the scene of heavy fighting.

A blocked convoy which was headed for the eastern town of Zepa will turn back, but U.N. escorts with it will continue to reconnoitre the route.

Zepa, its population swollen from 4,500 to about 30,000 by refugees, according to reports from the area, has seen only one small convoy since the war began about a year ago.

Sarajevo—under siege by Serb gunners for more than 10 months—has been boycotting all aid since February 11 in a gesture of solidarity with the east, and private stocks are running out in the capital, which has been subsisting on the aid and a few smuggled items.

Some aid was bypassing the state agency responsible and going direct to neighbourhood communities, and also to Serb-held neighbourhoods unaffected by the boycott, but Land said that percentage dropped Wednesday from around 20-25 percent to about 15 percent as communities sent in letters refusing the aid.

He added that Caritas was the only outside agency still feeding Sarajevans, as the others had halted their aid in sympathy with the city council's decision, which was backed by the government.

Tuzla, in the northeast—a major refugee centre—is also reported to be refusing aid.

Land, asked if Ogata realised her decision meant patients in hospitals around the country would die from lack of medical supplies, replied that he was sure the high commissioner was "aware of the implications."

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic late Wednesday slammed Ogata's decision announced in Nairobi and appealed to U.S. President Bill Clinton to take over from the U.N. and drop emergency supplies by parachute to the Serb-besieged Moslem enclaves.

Zlatko Lagumdzija, a deputy prime minister, called the UNHCR decision "blackmail by the well-fed against hungry people."

Serb troops surrounding the city were meanwhile gaining ground at its western gateway in a battle that started February 9.

Frewer, the UNPROFOR spokesman, said Gen. Morillon would negotiate in Pale with Radovan Karadzic, the president of the self-styled "Serb Republic of Bosnia," and would go on to Rogatica in a bid to use his personal authority to get the convoy through to Gorazde.

He said that Serb leaders had indicated Wednesday that they were inclinded to allow the convoy to pass.

Sarajevo Official Criticizes Aid Suspension

AU1802122693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] The representatives of the Sarajevo city authorities were supposed to meet the delegation of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] today, and discuss the problem of delivering humanitarian aid to Sarajevo. However, this meeting was not held. Our journalist Nada Rajkovic asked Mustafa Tamuk, head of the Sarajevo city government, what the decision to stop humanitarian convoys for Sarajevo means to the town.

[Begin Tamuk recording] We in this town think that the UNHCR has not taken the fulfillment of its tasks seriously anyway. Evidence of the lack of seriousness on

their part is the cancellation of the meeting just when it had started. They probably insisted on this meeting because they wanted to deceive the world public once again, and present themselves to the world public as an organization that is most seriously carrying out its work. However, the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina know perfectly well how this organization works.

The situation in which this town, this republic, these people have found themselves, shows that the international organizations, particularly the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations, must take the position of the UNHCR more seriously. The United Nations has given an exclusive role to the UNHCR concerning humanitarian aid in this republic. That is not good. The UNHCR has put all other international humanitarian organization in the position in which it dictates to them whether they can distribute humanitarian aid or not. The UNHCR has put all donators in the position in which their goods are rotting in large warehouses instead of reaching the mouths of those who are dying for it, people whose lives would be saved with this aid.

The intention of the donors was to help the people, to deliver humanitarian aid to the people, and not to have this humanitarian aid rotting and wasting in warehouses. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Asks Clinton To Parachute Relief Aid

LD1702221393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, has sent a letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton. Here is the full text of the letter:

Dear Mr. President,

There has been alarming news coming from eastern Bosnia about the masses dying of starvation and cold weather. As you have been informed, all humanitarian convoys bringing food and medicines for 200,000 besieged citizens of this area have been suspended.

Please Mr. President, could you examine the possibility of parachuting food and medicines which are greatly needed by the besieged places throughout eastern Bosnia? Under the present circumstances, this is the only way to avert a catastrophe, and the United States is the only force that can do that, the letter from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, to U.S. President Bill Clinton says.

Aid Convoy for Cerska Still Stranded in Serbia

AU1702122893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The representatives of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], who have been waiting for permission from the aggressor to cross the temporarily occupied territory to deliver urgently needed food and medicines to the residents of Cerska, Konjevic Polje, and Kamenica, will remain in Zvornik until further notice.

The UNHCR officials yesterday informed the authorities of the State of Bosnia-Hercegovina that another convoy left Belgrade for Gorazde yesterday. The second convoy of 10 trucks of humanitarian aid for the citizens of Gorazde yesterday crossed the bridge near Zvornik, but there is still no confirmation that it reached its destination.

The Chetnik commanders in Zvornik are still refusing to let through the convoy of 10 trucks with food and medicines for the desperate citizens of Cerska. The convoy is still on the territory of Serbia and the representatives of the UNHCR and UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] are negotiating with the aggressor side to let the convoy enter the soil of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The 10-truck convoy with aid for Gorazde is on its way to its destination.

Militia Blocks Second Convoy

AU1702114693 Paris AFP in English 1050 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 17 (AFP)—Serb militia on Wednesday [17 February] blocked a second convoy of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) heading for Muslims in east Bosnia who are reportedly on the verge of starvation, the UNHCR said here.

The militia were demanding as a quid pro quo that Bosnian government forces free Serb prisoners, said UNHCR representative Alemka Lisinski.

Lisinski said the 10-truck convoy had left Belgrade Tuesday and reached Rogatica Wednesday morning, some 30 kilometres from its goal—the besieged Muslim town of Gorazde.

Another UNHCR convoy heading for besieged Muslims in the east Bosnian town of Cerska was waiting Wednesday—the fourth day in a row—for Serb militia to allow it to proceed, Lisinski added.

The passage of UN food convoys in Bosnia-Hercegovina has become a hot political issue in the war between Serb and government forces. Last week the government said it would refuse to accept any more UN aid in the capital Sarajevo until UN forces had managed to get food and medicines through to the estimated 100,000 Muslims in the east of the country.

Residents Appeal for Help

AU1702124893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The town of Cerska has sent the following statement to the Government and the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Red Cross, and UN Protection Force:

While the humanitarian aid that is close to the hungry and exhausted residents of Cerska is in the hands of those who are least concerned about the survival of people in this region, the deadly projectiles are showering the already damaged houses from the surrounding hills. During the day, Cerska was hit by over 200 howitzer shells of 105-mm and nearly 100 tank shells. Twenty two persons were killed by this fierce shelling. Out of these, nine are children. The number of wounded is still unknown. Hunger is claiming new victims. Sixteen people have died from the consequences of long starvation. Among them were six 3-year old children.

In the name of those who are starving, in the name of the children who are suffering most, and in the name of the wounded we appeal to the members of the Government and the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to make fresh efforts with international humanitarian organizations for the humanitarian aid to reach those to whom it was sent.

This was stated in a communique issued by the information service of Vlasenica Commune.

Serbs Demand Release of Detainees

LD1702113093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] convoy which left Belgrade yesterday with humanitarian aid for Gorazde was stopped near Rogatica, Lyndell Sachs, a spokeswoman for the UNHCR Belgrade office told TANJUG today. "The local Serb command is not allowing the convoy to pass until the release of seven Serbs detained in Gorazde is secured," Sachs explained, adding that the convoy consisted of 10 trucks with medicines and family (aid relief) parcels. The other UNHCR convoy, which left for Cerska on Sunday with 64 tonnes of humanitarian aid, is still waiting near Zvornik, the UNHCR representative said.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic (of Bosnia-Hercegovina), promised in his talks with Judith Kumin, the head of the UNHCR Belgrade office, that the convoys will be allowed safe passage, Sachs said. He added that Cyrus Vance [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairman], who had talks with both Karadzic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, had been given the same assurances.

Milosevic Asked To Assist

AU1602123293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] The convoy of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] consisting of 10 trucks of aid for the endangered residents of Cerska still (?has not crossed onto the) territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. As it has been reported in the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN Protection Force, the convoy still has not been granted a permission by the aggressor's authorities to cross the bridge near Zvornik and proceed for Cerska which is 40 km away.

According to the [word indistinct] of the UNHCR, the authorities [words indistinct] gave guarantees for unhindered passage of this convoy, but as of this moment the approval of the Serbian side still has not been obtained. Jose Maria Mendiluce, the UNHCR envoy for Bosnia-Hercegovina, personally interceded with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for free passage of the convoy. General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina, dispatched a similar request to Radovan Karadzic, leader of the terrorist Serbian Democratic Party [president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina].

(?The commander) claims that a convoy of [word indistinct] trucks carrying the aid for the residents of Gorazde will arrive in Zvornik today.

Heavy Barrage Reported

AU1502202493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Information Service of the War Presidency of (?Suprega)]

[Text] The Kamenica, Cerska and Konjevic Polje areas are daily exposed to heavy combined artillery and infantry attacks by the Serbian chetnik aggressor, but today's attacks have surpassed all the others. Multiple rocket launchers, eight tanks, five howitzers and four mortar batteries have been pounding Kamenica, Cerska and Konjevic Polje all day from the chetnik positions in (?Veljova Glava), (?Kula Grad), (?Lijesanj), (?Hrusac) and (?Vandici). Over 1,500 shells must have been fired at the area and the damage is extensive.

The enemy launched a strong infantry offensive from (?Lijesanj) on the area between the village of (?Pirotski Put) to (?Glodi), and burned the village of (?Siroki Put). The village has been razed to the ground, 11 civilians have been massacred and many more wounded. 19 civilians, nine of them children, have been killed in this area by the aggressor's shells.

The long-awaited convoy of humanitarian aid that was supposed to arrive in Cerska today was stopped by the aggressor in Zvornik, allegedly because of the fighting in the area. We cannot allow a massacre of 45,000 innocent civilians to be carried out just because of 90 tonnes of food. We have to defend these people. Because of the earlier announced arrival of the humanitarian aid in this region, the aggressor is launching attack after attack, and misguiding the public so as to have an excuse to stop the convoys of humanitarian aid.

Sarajevo Continues Foreign Aid Boycott

AU1702130393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The air bridge with Sarajevo remains suspended because, as is known, the Sarajevo authorities have decided not to accept aid from abroad via the Office of

the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] until this aid reaches eastern Bosnia.

Sarajevo airport is open and two UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] flights are expected to arrive today. The road between the airport and town is also open to traffic, despite the fierce fighting in that part of Sarajevo.

The UNHCR says that warehouses in the town are full and that there are more than 2,500 tons of food. Since food has not been distributed to the residents of Sarajevo for days, no new land convoys for food delivery are planned for today and tomorrow.

Humanitarian Airlift Commences From Italy

LD1502173393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Rome, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—The Italian airport at Falconara outside Ancona on the Adriatic coast which has been ceded to the United Nations for a humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo has been "in operative use" since Monday [15 February] morning.

Although the Moslem authorities still boycott U.N. assistance, two C-130 transport planes with food and medicine, one English and the other Canadian, took off from Falconara for Sarajevo on Monday.

Residents of Ancona and the vicinity on the Adriatic seaboard had sharply protested against an Italian government decision to cede to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] this airport. Located in this area there is a large-sized oil refinery so that any incident there might cause a true disaster. Fears were also expressed of retaliation by some of the warring sides in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina .

The United Nations had asked an airlift for Sarajevo to be opened from an Italian airport following an incident with a German transport aircraft outside Karlovac late January, when it was assessed that this corridor became rather insecure.

Doctor Reports 250 Serbs Found in Mass Graves

LD1802025293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2337 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—At least 250 Serbs were killed in Glodjansko Brdo, the village of Kamenica, some 20 km south of Zvornik, Dr. Zoran Stankovic, pathologist at the military hospital in Belgrade, told SRNA. According to Dr. Stankovic these people were killed at least three months ago.

"I cannot tell you anything more before a thorough analysis is conducted. The fact is that some victims had their limbs tied with barbed wire or had their arms, legs, or heads cut off," Dr. Stankovic told SRNA journalist.

Mass graves with the bodies of Serbs, soldiers and civilians alike, were discovered yesterday after the liberation of a strong Muslim stronghold on the left bank of the Drina. Thirty-five bodies have been exhumed so far.

Officials Comment on Discovery

AU1702210493 Paris AFP in English 2045 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Kamenica, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Feb 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs Wednesday [17 February] uncovered the mutilated bodies of 24 men in this eastern Bosnian village recently captured from Moslem forces, saying they were Serbs killed by Moslems.

Major Milan Milosevic, one of the Serb commanders, told a party of journalists taken to witness the discovery that another two grave sites had been located, including one in a frozen pond containing 16 more bodies.

Most of the bodies were dressed in army jackets, one had both hands and feet bound with metal wire. Another was minus a head.

The grave sites were found on a hill overlooking Kamenica, some 15 kms (10 miles) south of Zvornik, a town which fell to the Serbs last weekend.

"There is no doubt these are Serbs who will be identified by their relatives," said Major Vinko Pandurevic.

Pandurevic suggested those killed were civilians captured last November in a nearby Serb village.

Milosevic, for his part, said they were soldiers, some of whom might have been killed in fighting, but "the majority of whom were captured alive and then tortured and killed, as shown by traces of brutality on the bodies."

A monk from the nearby Papraca monastery suggested the men were Serb fighters caught in a Moslem offensive on November 6 as they camped in the area.

Meanwhile, houses in Kamenica continued to burn as Serb soldiers looted everything that could be transported, including cupboards, carpets and refrigerators.

The village is located some 10 kms (six miles) from the Moslem enclave of Cerska, which a U.N. humanitarian has vainly been trying to reach since Sunday.

A spokesman for the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], Larry Hollingworth, regretted that "these bodies serve as an excuse to stop the aid convoy for Cerska from getting through".

His comments came a few hours before the UNHCR announced its was suspending all relief efforts in the area because of the failure by both Serbs and Moslems to allow such operations to go ahead.

The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, Wednesday evening said he firmly opposed free passages for humanitarian convoys through Serb-held territory

while the "exhumation of the remains of Serbs massacred by Moslems" continued near Kamenica.

Karadzic issued his statement, quoted by the Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency, after stomping out from an interview with Britain's Channel 4 television in which he was asked whether the digging up of the bodies, in the presence of foreign journalists, was not meant as a propaganda ploy.

Serbs Report 'Mass Crimes' by Muslims

LD1502182293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1752 GMT 15 Feb 93

["Pool" item by Valdimir Elez]

[Text] Bratunac, February 15 (TANJUG)—Moslem crimes over Serbs in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH), especially those in the regions of Srebrenica, Bratunac and Skelani, are probably the largest-scale and most brutal ones in the civil and religious war which has been raging in this former Yugoslav republic for nearly eleven months.

The Srebrenica Moslems started a spate of mass crimes over the Serb population towards the beginning of the war. The bloodshed has not stopped ever since and the number of victims is permanently growing.

Tens of Serb villages near Srebrenica, Bratunac and Skelani no longer exist. In some of them, the whole population has been exterminated.

Mass and ferocious crimes were perpetrated in the Serb villages of Gornji and Donji Ratkovici, Oparci, Kaludra, Dvoriste, Magdovici, Bradjevina, Brezak, Stantovici, Polimci, Ducici, Fakovici, Vranesevici at the beginning of the war.

Atrocities followed in the Serb villages of Bjelovac, Sikirici, Loznicka Rijeka, the big village of Kravica and a number of other Serb settlements in the Bratunac region. Mass crimes over Serbs in Skelani and the nearby villages, especially Kusici and Cosici, were the next to come.

In the past month's time, 200 or so Serbs, mainly Women, children and old people, have been massacred in the region. The largest-scale atrocities were perpetrated on St. Peter's day, Christmas and other Orthodox holidays.

Hundreds of Serbs were killed immediately after international humanitarian aid arrived in the Moslem stronghold of Srebrenica via the Serb town of Bratunac, survivors said.

Moslem authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina are now preventing humanitarian aid from reaching the citizens of Sarajevo, saying that aid should first be delivered to Moslems in eastern Bosnia.

There is irrefutable evidence, however, that humanitarian aid sent to Moslems in eastern Bosnia is delivered to their armed formations rather than civilians.

The survived Serbs are now expected to allow the passage of humanitarian aid for the Moslem strongholds in Cerska and Srebrenica, to feed and refresh their potential future murderers.

Although three directly opposed sides are fighting one another in the BiH war, only the Serbs are, in this way, expected to defeat themselves and, in the name of humanity, to masochistically deprive themselves of the right to live.

Serbs Appeal To Croats To Release Detainees

LD1502191093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 15 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 15 (TANJUG)—Serbian refugees from the parts of Hercegovina controlled by Croats on Monday [15 February] urged the international public to help secure the release of 243 persons—mainly women, children, the aged and ill—from the Serbian village of Rascani which Croats have turned into a camp.

The news agency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs SRNA on Monday quoted the appeal forwarded to the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross as saying that there is no other case that all inhabitants of a settlement have been made prisoners of war, regardless of age, sex and health.

The Croatian authorities which control Rascani, located near the town of Tomislavgrad (formerly Duvno), do not permit humanitarian aid to reach the imperilled civilians, Serbs who have fled from Tomislavgrad and nearby settlements to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said in the appeal.

The text of the appeal has been forwarded also to the French Health Minister Bernard Kouchner who was on a humanitarian mission in Bosnia-Hercegovina on Saturday and Sunday.

Ministry Releases Data on Serb War Crimes

AU1202210593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The trail of crimes committed by chetniks can never disappear. After carrying out genocide in Kozarac, near Prijedor, the chetniks interned 13,000-18,000 Muslims and Croats from that region in the concentration camps of Tomasica, Omarska, Trnopolje, and Keraterm. This is reported by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At that time, more than 6,000 people were sent to the Trnopolje camp alone. The inmates were mistreated and killed in the most brutal ways. Bodies were taken to the Omarska mine daily, where some of them were burned while others were buried in mass graves with bulldozers. Every morning, some 10-15 inmates had the task of burying those who were killed the previous night. In

order not to have any witnesses to their crimes, the next evening the chetniks would kill the inmates that buried the dead the night before.

The guards in the camps forced the inmates to kill members of their own family. Brothers were forced to kill brothers, husbands their wives, and fathers their sons. Particularly notorious were chetniks Dusan (?Tadic), known as Dule; Djordje Kozomara and Milenko Zigic from Kozarac; Mirko Kovacevic, a social worker from Prijedor; Tepo Bora Vidovic, from the village of Dera; Brane Beric, known as Vrabac from Prijedor; and a chetnik with the nickname Cupo. These criminals are now working in the secret camps in Manjaca that was set up for Muslim and Croat intellectuals.

This was stated in a communique issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Authorities Report on War Deaths, Casualties

AU1502172793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] A look back at the 44 weeks of this unprecedented aggression; black statistics of suffering and pain.

According to statistics from the Health Service, police force, and district services, since the beginning of the aggression against our country 134,208 people have been killed or are missing. Some 3,712 civilians have died of hunger and cold, 1,634 of those are children. There have been 140,658 people wounded, 63,050 receiving serious disabilities. There are 1,595 patients waiting for continued treatment abroad, all with wounds or illnesses that cannot be treated in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

During the last week, an increase has been registered in the numbers of those killed and wounded with 520 killed, 210 in Sarajevo. Since 8 February, 515 people have been wounded, 242 in Sarajevo alone. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Headquarters for Health published this information today, stressing that the Institute for Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation and the Maternity and Children's Clinic have been destroyed and burned in Sarajevo. Over 1,000 shells have been fired at medical institutions in the city.

Update on Death Toll From Fighting, Diseases

LD1402172793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] According to a report from the republic headquarters for health and social welfare of Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens, 14 people were killed and 74 were wounded in the past 24 hours in Zepa, Zvornik, Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Sarajevo. Of those, Six were killed and 34 wounded in Sarajevo.

In the past 24 hours, 39 people died of starvation and hypothermia—13 in Zepa, 14 in Srebrenica, and 12 in Gorazde. Hygiene is still very poor due to bad water supply, which has caused fresh cases of hepatitis, dysentery, and enterocolitis. Sarajevo's hospitals have had their water and electricity supplies restored and received some supplies of oxygen, but the lack of oil and nitric oxide is still a great problem.

'Epidemic Situation' Called 'Critical'

AU1702153893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Headquarters for Health and Social Security of Citizens has issued a statement:

We have been informed today that in the last 48 hours, 93 people died of hunger in Zepa, Gorazde, Srebrenica, and Cerska. As for the casualties of the aggressors' attacks during the last 24 hours, 11 people were killed and 54 wounded in Zepa, Gorazde, Srebrenica, and Sarajevo. Out of those, 8 were killed and 51 wounded in Sarajevo alone.

The Sarajevo medical institutions are still without electricity and awaiting fuel and nitric oxide [azotni oksidil]. Due to the interruption in the water supply to the population, the epidemic situation is very critical.

Srebrenica Presidency Appeals for Food, Medicine

AU1602204093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[The Srebrenica War Presidency appeal]

[Text] Well, gentlemen, what figure of dead Srebrenica people will finally force you to help them? We are begging you once again for help. We are begging you to save us. Give us life; send us food and medicine. Stop the death toll that hunger and diseases are taking. This is the Srebrenica War Presidency for Radio Television Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Srebrenica Defenders Prepared To Mine Drina Dam

AU1602161893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] We have received an appeal from Srebrenica which says that the situation in this subregion is extremely uncertain and dramatic. Over 100,000 people are exposed to constant attacks, hunger, and cold. In the last 48 hours alone, 78 people have died of either hunger, disease, or the cold. They were mostly older and weaker people.

While the criminal Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president] announces that he will allow a safe passage to humanitarian convoys only after a cease-fire is reached, his chetniks are launching new attacks every day, the appeal says;

The defenders of this region are forced to defend the people in every way they can, and they are ready, if need be, to mine the Jaloviste dam, which would cause a huge ecological catastrophe.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities, the UN Protection Force, and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for

Refugees are asked to do their utmost to deliver humanitarian aid to this region and, thus, prevent a major human disaster.

Air Raids on Srebrenica Reportedly Continue

AU1202195693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Unattributed report from Srebrenica]

[Text] In addition to everyday infantry attacks from Bratunac, which are supported by strong artillery fire and armored mechanized units, the free Srebrenica territory is also subjected to everyday bombing from the air. In the last 10 days, the free territory has been bombed 14 times by two aggressor aircraft that came from the direction of Valjevo and Uzice. It is interesting to note that out of 14 bombing raids, the aggressor carried out four of its missions during the night between 2300 and 2400. In the last few days, 56 people were killed from air bombings alone. More than 100 people were wounded. In the period behind us, 29 people, mainly women and children, were killed and about 40 wounded by artillery fire.

Izetbegovic Rejects Proposal on Prisoner Exchange

LD1502112593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0949 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic has rejected conditions for a prisoner exchange proposed by French Health Minister Bernard Kouchner, Izetbegovic aide Kemal Muftic said on Sunday [14 February].

Kouchner proposed an exchange of 54 prisoners held by Moslems in a storage silo in Tarcin (60 kilometres south-west of Sarajevo) for as many held by Serbs in Batkovici (north of Sarajevo), as well as 108 Serbs held captive by Bosnian Croats.

The AFP news agency quoted Muftic as saying that Izetbegovic had told Kouchner that although the number of Serbs and Moslems whose exchange had been discussed was equal, the exchange conditions were unfavourable to the Moslems.

The Moslem-Croat side has persistently refused to honour agreements on prisoner exchanges in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the scene of an 11-month old civil, ethnic and religious war.

So far only the Serbs have fulfilled their pledges and released from their prisons about 5,000 persons, while the Croat and Moslem sides have set free only about 400 detainees.

Izetbegovic Views Geneva Talks, Arms Embargo

NC1202120493 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 Feb 93 p 5

[Interview with Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by AL-AHRAM correspondent Yahya Ghanim in Sarajevo—date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Ghanim] What were the results of the Geneva conference and the prospects for any peace talks succeeding?

[Izetbegovic] Three documents were presented to us in Geneva. We agreed to sign the first document, which provides for preserving the republic as an independent state within its recognized borders. The second document provides for partitioning Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 parts. I believe this partitioning is not in the Muslims' interest, because it grants the Serbian forces control over the areas in which they carried out ethnic cleansing operations. The world knows the acts the Serbs perpetrated during those operations, including killing Muslims and Croats and driving them from their homes. If Bosnia-Hercegovina remains divided as it is now, those areas will remain under the aggressor's control. Morally, it is improper to reward such crimes, legally, it contradicts the resolutions of the United Nations and the London conference, and politically, this solution will not enable the people driven from their homeland to return. This is why we refused to sign the second document and asked that it be amended. We did not sign the third document, which deals with some military issues and demanded that UN resolutions be clear, particularly in connection with heavy weapons, which we want to be handed over to the United Nations. The military document did not include such a provision. We are now leaving the issue in the hands of the UN Security Council, which we hope will consider our reservations. Had the amendments we demanded been made, we would have signed the agreement and the road to peace would have been left open on condition that the means to implement the agreement were provided.

I was invited to attend the negotiations held under the Security Council's sponsorship. I refused because I must stay here to pursue many tasks that require my presence. I asked Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic to attend on my behalf.

[Ghanim] Mr. President, you have lived and dealt with Serbs nearly all your life. Judging by your experience, do you expect to reach a political, peaceful solution to the crisis with them?

[Izetbegovic] There are two kinds of Serbs: The first kind destroyed our country, killed our people, raped our women, and slaughtered our children. We cannot live with this kind and we will demand that they be tried for their crimes before international tribunals. The second kind are those who stayed with us in Sarajevo, about 100,000 Serbs. They suffer the same hardships we do as a result of the war. We will live

with these Serbs and try to build the state that we want and so do they. Regrettably, the first kind have weapons and the second kind do not.

[Ghanim] Pardon me, I meant to ask: What is the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution with the Serbian leaders?

[Izetbegovic] It is very difficult.

[Ghanim] As a head of state, did you assess the options should a peaceful solution with the Serbs fail?

[Izetbegovic] We were forced to enter this war unprepared. Actually, it is not a war in the real sense. It was an offensive launched by a strong well-equipped army against a defenseless civilian people. We were surprised with a war of mass annihilation. We had to carry arms in self defense. We had no choice. We defended almost half of Bosnia. You can see this on the map. Half of Bosnia is under our control, while the other half is occupied.

We have also defended the capital Sarajevo over the past 10 months. The town is destroyed, but they have failed to enter it. They will never enter it as long as one of us is alive. True, they have the force and we are weak, but they are getting weaker daily. Time is on our side. We arm our people continuously. During the 11-day battle of Gradacac in November, the Serbs tried to occupy the town, but we destroyed 65 of their tanks in this short period.

[Interviewer remarks] The interview is interrupted by heavy artillery shells falling near the Presidential Palace.

[Izetbegovic continues] Do you hear the sound of explosions? They are 200 meters from the Presidential Palace. We have overcome our fear and we are not afraid of them. I asked some Americans in the United States: Why are you afraid of the Serbs and we are not? We endeavor to achieve a peaceful solution to alleviate the people's suffering. But if the peaceful solution fails, we will fight. We are confident and so are all the Bosnian people that we can triumph.

[Interviewer remarks] The interview is again interrupted by fierce explosions.

[Izetbegovic continues] The explosions are getting nearer to the Presidential Palace. I hope you will describe this to the Egyptian people and that you will tell them about this heavy shelling during the interview. I hope you will tell them that this mad shelling is killing our people.

[Ghanim] If the UN Security Council lifts the arms embargo on Bosnia and if Croatia is the link for transporting these weapons, how could you ensure the arrival of the weapons amid the political changes affecting relations between Bosnia and Croatia?

[Izetbegovic] Croatia could cause a problem. But we will solve it by any means. If the arms embargo is not lifted, our arms import will be difficult, but not impossible.

[Ghanim] Can you tell us how the military situation looks on the ground and give us the latest casualty figures?

[Izetbegovich] As I said, we control half of Bosnia's territory. This, however, does not reflect the entire reality. The majority of the population lives in the portion under our control, which also contains the major cities, factories, roads, railways, and water sources. The quality of the territory, thus, is in our favor. I said earlier that they are better armed than we are, but the army—any army—is made of two things: Weapons and men. They have the weapons, and we have the men. Their fighters are extremely weak. The explosions you just heard are targeting defenseless civilians. This is what they have been doing for 10 months. All their attacks have been repulsed. They do not dare enter the city; therefore, they attack us from remote mountains, killing women and children. They are too cowardly to engage in a face-to-face fight. As I told you, in one of the battles for a strategic city, they lost 65 tanks. We are still holding the city. As you see, we can defend ourselves, but for how long? We do not know. If we receive foreign assistance, the current situation will not last long. It is in the world's interest to help us and end this war.

[Ghanim] What about casualties?

[Izetbegovich] No one knows the final figure. The Serbs are besieging entire regions and perpetrating genocide crimes therein. According to the latest known figures, between 120,000 and 150,000 people have been killed. Some 10,000 people—only 1,000 fighters and 9,000 civilians—have been killed in Sarajevo alone, with 25 percent of them children. Perhaps you remember the three shells that fell near the palace a few minutes ago. Hundreds of missiles and bombs are now falling in relatively far regions; we do not hear them. Between 15 and 25 people are killed daily in Sarajevo; 100 more are hurt. Most of the victims are Muslims because they are the majority in Sarajevo. Muslims are being killed in other regions merely because they are Muslims.

[Ghanim] What are your reservations about the Security Council's mandate to the international forces? Would you rather have the mandate amended or all international forces withdrawn?

[Izetbegovich] The presence of international forces is both positive and negative, but the positive aspects greatly outweigh the negatives ones.

[Ghanim] There is a controversy over foreign military intervention. How do you view such intervention? Will it be confined to an air strike, or will it involve ground forces?

[Izetbegovich] I doubt there will be a ground military intervention. If any intervention takes place, it will be confined to an air strike, which is enough for us. We would rather receive weapons to defend ourselves by ourselves. Our people want to take care of themselves; all we need is weapons. Why should people come from

Egypt or America to die here when we have fighters ready for it? All we lack is arms.

[Ghanim] Do you believe the West has betrayed you?

[Izetbegovic] Yes.

[Ghanim] What were you expecting from the West? What are you expecting now?

[Izetbegovic] Each Western country has its own policy. They do not have united positions. Germany and the United States have a position close to Bosnia-Hercegovina's. England does not support us; France is seeking a compromise. This is the situation as far as their governments are concerned. I cannot say that this is their people's view because public opinion worldwide is on our side, in France, the United States, Germany, England, and Italy. Governments, however, are another matter. Opinion polls show that public opinion in the West is urging the governments to support the Bosnian people. However, judging by the West's delay in coming to our aid, we can say it has betrayed us. It allowed a European nation in central Europe to be subjected to mass extermination because it is Muslim. The only thing the West has done is issue resolutions, which have not helped us much.

[Ghanim] What about assistance from Arab and Islamic countries? What are you demanding of them at this critical time?

[Izetbegovic] We have received political support from the entire Arab and Islamic world. The Islamic world has united for the first time because of Bosnia-Hercegovina's crisis. If there is a good side to this crisis, it is that the Islamic world rallied for the first time around a cause, our cause, although it is full of diverse streams and political ideologies. I am happy that our tragedy produced this result. As to actual aid, it varies from one country to another. Some countries did a lot; others have so far done nothing. This is all I can say about what has actually been done. As to what they can do, we are asking for political assistance, especially in connection with some important issues such as lifting the arms embargo. The Islamic countries must clearly announce that if this embargo is not lifted, they will export arms [to us] because they do not respect the embargo. I wish to remind you that the arms embargo was adopted against the former Yugoslavia. We are not Yugoslavia; we are Bosnia-Hercegovina. There is another thing: There is no justice in preventing a nation under brutal aggression from defending itself. We are the victims of this aggression and the victims of an unjust UN Security Council resolution. The Muslims cannot legally or morally defend this resolution. I repeat: If the United Nations refuses to lift the embargo, the Islamic countries must not respect it. For the second time I say: We do not need soldiers, we need weapons. Certainly we also need financial assistance to obtain food, clothing, and equipment. This is what we need from the Islamic countries.

[Ghanim] Would you accept the country's partition under any conditions?

[Izetbegovic] No. We would never accept it. It would mean the end of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is our enemy's dream.

[Ghanim] Can you tell the Arab world how to prevent the repetition of another Palestine, this time in Europe?

[Izetbegovic] I urge the Arabs to understand the new Palestine-like experience in Europe. We have learned the lesson and will defend our country by ourselves. We will continue fighting.

[Ghanim] Do you have other messages for the Islamic world?

[Izetbegovic] I hope there will be no infighting within the Islamic world, that the Muslims will learn, show internal solidarity, unite, and adhere to their religion.

Izetbegovic Receives King Faysal Award

AU1702171593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] I believe that you have already heard that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, is the recipient of this year's International King Faysal Award. According to a statement published in Riyad, Izetbegovic received this distinctive honor for his contribution to Islam. Upon receiving the King Faysal award, Alija Izetbegovic said:

I have always sought universal values in Islam, values that bond people, not divide them, and values that confirm, as the Koran teaches, that we all originate from one man and one woman, that is, that we are all one race divided into tribes and nations and, again as the Koran says, not in order to do ill to one another but to get to know one another.

I was born and belong to a nation that has for centuries lived on a large border, on a boundary between two worlds, belonging at the same time to both, to the West with our mind and thought, and to the East with our soul and feeling. That is why I believe and will continue to believe that, by serving Islam and the Muslims, I am at the same time serving all the people of the good Bosnia. I take this award with this feeling and all due respect, the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency said.

Army Chief Views War, Western Attitude

AU1202100693 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 93 pp 13, 44

[Interview with Sefer Halilovic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Miljenko Jergovic; place and date not given; first two paragraphs have been provided by NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA: "Wars Here Last Three, Four Years"]

[Text] I managed to reach Sefer Halilovic one evening just after a massive shelling. There were reports of 18 dead, but people were much more interested in and agitated by information about the conflicts between the Croats and the Muslims than they were in the chetniks.

We were shown into the chief of staff's office by Fahrudin Radoncic, a former reporter for Zagreb's DANAS magazine and today Sefer's close associate. Present inside was a CNN [Cable News Network] crew with Christiane Amanpour talking to Halilovic about the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina's morale. He responded with short, curt answers, which gave the impression of a tough, self-confident man. He repeated his old conviction several times: "We are getting stronger every day, while the aggressor is getting weaker!" The American woman wanted explanations: Sefer smiled and said that the West had given up on us too soon, that wars on this territory usually last three, four years. He escorted the CNN crew out, saying that they were aiding the aggressor (not CNN, but the West where CNN comes from) and they were planting a cuckoo in Bosnia's nest with the Vance-Owen plan, because "Bosnia had a multiethnic community at a time when the Americans were still killing redskins in the prairies!" Halilovic would react in the manner of a hurt boy, he would allow his emotions to run away with him, a thing rather unusual for a soldier, but then he would soon revert back to rational conversation....

[Jergovic] In your opinion, what are the reasons for the multiplication of conflicts between the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Halilovic] There are absolutely no military reasons for these conflicts. Let the politicians agree on political solutions and we soldiers will then agree in five minutes.

[Jergovic] You were in Geneva recently and met with the commanders of the HVO. What was your impression of them?

[Halilovic] They are completely normal and decent people, obviously experts, and they too are waiting for their politicians to solve the controversial political issues. We did not disagree on military questions because we had no reason to. We share the same chetnik aggressor, the same plight and the same struggle. The HVO proved this during the first phase of the war, when, together with the Army, it defended a large portion of the country.

A State Within a State

[Jergovic] The HVO and the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia say that they will not let anyone have the territories they have liberated and that misunderstandings arise because the Muslim side wants to gain in peace what the HVO liberated through war.

[Halilovic] Tell me, which territories did they liberate? There is no territory in Bosnia-Hercegovina that was liberated solely by the HVO, except those territories where there are HVO forces, but where there was no actual fighting. By this I mean western Hercegovina. All the other areas were liberated by the HVO together with the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Moreover, we joined forces in fighting wherever there were HVO forces. Therefore, statements that claim that a territory was liberated without the help of the Army are very dishonest. Moreover, nobody is asking the HVO to leave any part of the country and there is absolutely no reason for them to do so. I myself, together with former minister Jerko Doko, have invested great effort into having the HVO recognized as being a regular army formation, despite the fact that there were those who insisted on quite the opposite. In fact, I am still investing a lot of effort into forming a mutual command. Three armies in one country cannot exist because the country would then be divided into three states.

[Jergovic] Why hasn't the mutual command been formed?

[Halilovic] Because Mate Boban [Croatian leader in Bosnia] and the people around him do not want this. What they want is a state within a state, rather than a joint front against the chetniks. However, anyone who shares this opinion should know that there will be no Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina if the Muslims are wiped out. It is very naive to believe that the chetniks will stop once they have slaughtered all the Muslims. Their goal is Bosnia-Hercegovina without the Muslims and the Croats, a Greater Serbia with borders running down the Ogulin-Karlobag-Virovitica line and they will not give up without a struggle. There would be no chance of anyone except the Serbs, the greater Serbs [Velikosrbi] that is, surviving in such a country.

[Jergovic] But the conflicts mainly occur in places where there is no direct contact with the chetniks?

[Halilovic] That is not true! We had them in Travnik and Novi Travnik, and Gornji Vakuf and Prozor are also not very far from the front line. This means that a part of the HVO has given up fighting the chetniks, because had all the forces been deployed in the area of Kupres and Jajce, the situation there would be drastically different.

[Jergovic] Today, the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina communicate mainly with mutual accusations. This can hardly be productive. Do you have people in your ranks who encourage these misunderstandings?

[Halilovic] President Izetbegovic called me a few nights ago from Geneva to ask whether there was anything concerning the conflict in Busovaca that the Army should be ashamed of. I said that there was not and I insisted on an independent committee which would investigate the case. Should it conclude that a single individual from the Army was responsible for the misunderstandings which resulted in bloodshed, we will deal with him in a very summary manner.

[Jergovic] The media are reporting the presence of the so-called "mojahedin" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, either as armed soldiers or some kind of officers responsible for moral issues....

[Halilovic] I will richly reward anyone who can show me an Iranian or any other mojahedin in Sarajevo or anywhere else. These simply do not exist, although we would gladly welcome anyone who would be ready to fight for a free and secular Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Jergovic] Where does the Army get its weapons?

[Halilovic] We usually seize them from the chetniks. We are paying for them with the worthiest lives of this country. Some we have managed to buy at exorbitant prices, but more than half have been seized on the territory of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia.

[Jergovic] The war began in Slovenia, then Croatia was attacked and finally Bosnia-Hercegovina. Is this all one and the same war?

[Halilovic] Of course it is. There is one aggressor and he has a single goal: the borders of a greater Serbia that would encompass all the territory that could be militarily conquered. First they talked about "Serbian" Rijeka and Istria, then about the Ogulin-Karlobag-Virovitica line and finally about a Serbian Slavonia, Baranja, and "Krajina".... This changes according to the situation in the battle zones and the maneuvers of daily politics, but the general goal is always the same: To destroy all the non-Serbian peoples and conquer their territory. Unfortunately, certain Croatian politicians believe that now is the time to realize certain greater Croatian [velikohrvatske] state aspirations, the time to establish "historical areas" and to push back the Muslims. The hotheads who believe that there is something more important than the struggle against one aggressor have still not started to cool down.

[Jergovic] Igman is a crucial point in all efforts to lift blockade of Sarajevo. One gets the impression however, that things are not running smoothly over there. Why?

[Halilovic] Time will show who is responsible for what! I personally know the truth....

[Jergovic] Why do you not come out with it?

[Halilovic] Because the time is not right for baring all. Those imposing the blockade estimate that Igman is a crucial strategic point from which a lifting of the blockade of the city can be undertaken and that is why it is necessary to thwart this at all costs.

[Jergovic] So who is doing this?

[Halilovic] An assorted criminal-political mob. It is Serbian, Croatian and Muslim. In Tuzla, they allow some things through, but here nothing gets through!

[Jergovic] Why do they allow this in Tuzla and not in Sarajevo?

[Halilovic] Because Sarajevo is a symbol of resistance and mutual existence. East meets West here and if the mutual existence of three peoples is possible here, then it is possible everywhere else. And if Sarajevo is under blockade, then the whole country is too.

[Jergovic] You believe that this reflects the interests of greater state policies [velikodrzavna politika], but what Muslim element has an interest in keeping Sarajevo under blockade?

[Halilovic] I have already told you, it is the mob element!

[Jergovic] What social environment does it stem from, what are its interests and what is it called?

[Halilovic] You know that better than I do!

[Jergovic] Fine, let us assume that this is so. However, I believe that this mob-like, criminal element will one day undermine the people's noble struggle to defend the city and that it will become the model for a black, monstrous and dirty place, much like the Vienna of the "Third Man", except that there they were running a black market in fake penicillin, whereas here it is in everything—flour, ideology, human lives....

[Halilovic] Unfortunately, you could be right. That is why we have to lift the blockade of the city as soon as possible.

[Jergovic] People in Sarajevo are worried about the growing number of murders of citizens of Serbian nationality. Apparently, sometimes people simply disappear....

[Halilovic] I do not think that this is quite accurate. Although we do not have any statistics, I believe that people exaggerate. However, every murder, every criminal act, must first be investigated and then severely punished. I am sure there are cases of retribution which, in a sense, are to be expected considering that 150,000 people have been killed by the chetniks. I am doing everything in my power to ensure that such crimes, especially when they are ethnically colored, do not happen. Moreover, I have information that there are cases of people disappearing in Zagreb as well. ..

[Jergovic] The Army's Press Center has recently incorporated a new syntagma into its vocabulary: "the fundamental people of Bosnia-Hercegovina" [temeljni bosanskohercegovacki narod]. True, it is not specified anywhere which ethnic community this signifies, but it is not hard to guess that it is the Muslim community. What kind of Bosnia-Hercegovina is possible if we officially sanction the "fundamentality" of only one people?

[Halilovic] Personally, I have never heard this syntagm and I do not know what it means. I would never sign or authorize, let alone utter, such nonsense. I truly believe that there are three fundamental, constitutive peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina: the Muslims, the Serbs, and the Croats. It does not matter which order you put them in. If there were only one fundamental people, this would no longer be Bosnia-Hercegovina, it would be something else and I do not know what that would be.

[Jergovic] What solution do you see if it comes to an all-out conflict between Croats and Muslims?

[Halilovic] There will be no conflict! There is no Bosnia-Hercegovina without these two peoples and without Bosnia-Hercegovina there are no Croats or Muslims on this territory. I am sure we will be able to reach a final agreement. If we do not, there will be no Muslims or Croats. Even if Croatia manages to liberate every inch of its territory, the chetniks will always be in a position to blackmail them and hold it in their power. It is imperative that we reach an agreement and that we realize that Bosnia-Hercegovina is our country.

[Jergovic] How do you propose to liberate the country?

[Halilovic] By joining forces and fighting until the last inch of Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory is liberated. The chetniks must be stopped at the Drina River. This is the only way in which both we and the Republic of Croatia can make sure that the crime is not repeated.

[Jergovic] What do you think of the proposal to demilitarize Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Halilovic] I think it is crazy, just like the whole Vance-Owen plan. I am speaking as a Muslim now! It will never again happen that the Muslims are unarmed and unprepared for chetnik tanks.

[Jergovic] A few days ago, while discussing Vance and Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen] on television, you said something intriguing. You predicted the possibility of Bosnian terrorist attacks in London and Paris....

[Halilovic] I did not say anything original. While in London, Izetbegovic predicted that if these people lose their country, they would split up into two groups. The bad ones would become criminals and the better ones avengers. Therefore, it is quite logical to expect that the influence of the latter would be felt throughout Europe. If there is no satisfactory outcome, that is.

[Jergovic] Would you be among the avengers?

[Halilovic] No. I am after all, a soldier and soldiers have never done this anywhere.

Karadzic Comments on U.S., Russian Roles

AU1402210093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Risto Djogo in Pale; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Djogo] The guest of Serbia's Television Studio Novi Sad newscast, at the Channel S studio in Pale, is Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. You have just returned from New York, from some talks. You are expecting further negotiations. You had no one to negotiate with last time in New York, however, neither Izetbegovic [bosnian president] nor Boban [leader of the Croats in Bosnia] were there. Does that mean that your return to New York depends on the real negotiators from the former Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Karadzic] Well, it should be so since we have a clash here between three ethnic communities and the leaderships of the three ethnic communities should be present on the same level, particularly as an agreement could be reached under such prominent auspices. We do not regret having been there, however. We accomplished very good bilateral diplomatic contacts with many countries and we managed to make a certain breakthrough in the media, so that the Americans found out a bit of the truth about our situation. We will probably go again without any preconditions, even though we will not stay long if those who could sign a peace agreement are not there.

[Djogo] Russia has definitely taken part in solving this complicated war puzzle. Vitaliy Churkin [Russian deputy foreign minister] should be the fourth negotiator. How would you comment on that?

[Karadzic] I think it is a very good thing that America and Russia have decided to take part. Both countries have their own interests in the Balkans and these interests are not at the moment conflicting, as they were during the Cold War. On the contrary, one could say that the American and Russian interests are in a way synergetic, but that the Turkish and German interests are, on the other hand, also in accord here but are opposed to Russian interests. To a certain degree and in the long-term sense, they are also opposed to the American interests.

Turkey and Germany, one discreetly and the other openly, have great ambitions in the Balkans. All the trouble that the Serbian people have had, and after all, even the Muslim people and others, has been because of the ambitions of Germany and Turkey to become regional powers.

[Djogo] The Vance plan in Croatia has obviously failed since Tudjman does not want to pull back his troops. It is now extended to 31 March. There have been some announcements of a plebiscite on the unification of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian republic. What can you tell us about that at this stage?

[Karadzic] We put forward a declaration which was adopted by both assemblies in Prijedor, I think it was on 1 November, and we postponed any activities concerning unification of the two Krajinas, that is, the two republics, so as not to hamper the Vance plan. If the United Nations itself dishonors the Vance plan, and if it leaves the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina to the mercy of the Croatian Armed Forces, then we have to realize our right to self-determination. Then the fate of the entire situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina could be different, since that declaration could be realized, and Yugoslavia would have to protect the Serbs in Krajina since Yugoslavia is a guarantor of that agreement with the United Nations. I think that if the United Nations decides to pull out its forces, everything will take an entirely different course.

[Djogo] Thank you, Mr. Karadzic, for taking part in the newscast.

[Karadzic] Thank you.

Mladic Denies War Crimes Accusations

AU1502133793 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 15 Feb 93 p 154

[Interview with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serbian armed forces in Bosnia, by an unidentified DER SPIEGEL reporter; place and date not given: "Fairy Tale of Rape"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] General, U.S. politicians want to see you indicted as a war criminal at an international tribunal—why?

[Mladic] I would feel like a war criminal if I had come to Germany or Croatia and attacked villages there, but I am only defending my people. This is my legitimate right.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are accused of having been particularly inhuman and tough, for instance in destroying Vukovar and bombing Sarajevo.

[Mladic] If no one had shot at Serbs with kalashnikovs, there would not have been any war. The kalashnikovs came to our country via Germany. Croatia, Slovenia, and the Bosnian Muslims have been armed from former East German depots. One day the Germans will have to admit that.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are accused of being partly responsible for ethnic cleansing and mass rapes.

[Mladic] Journalists and Western politicians have invented these fairy tales of the rapes. Not a single Muslim woman was in prison. Never have Serbs attacked women and children. Where should we have raped an alleged 50,000 Muslim women in that short period? This is absurd.

[DER SPIEGEL] You can hardly deny that there were internment camps.

[Mladic] We had prison camps for those who shot at us, destroyed our towns and villages, and massacred and raped the Serbian population. Of them we have released 5,040 prisoners.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then you probably also deny the ethnic cleansing?

[Mladic] What ethnic cleansing? We have not driven away any loyal Muslims. They live peacefully among the Serbs. The Catholic Church and the mosque in Banja Luka are operating completely normally. Where, on the other hand, do we have our orthodox priests in Croatia?

[DER SPIEGEL] Why are then 1.5 million people on the run?

[Mladic] There are 1.5 million Serbs, who have fled from Krajina and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[DER SPIEGEL] You are ignoring 1 million Muslims who have fled.

[Mladic] These people have left their areas of settlement to flee from the war.

[DER SPIEGEL] What should a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina look like?

[Mladic] We want a just solution for all three peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina, so that we do not have to wage any wars anymore. Should we kill each other every five or 10 years because a political group no longer likes one people or one territory? Or because Germany gives sometimes more, sometimes less support to one or the other people?

[DER SPIEGEL] You are overestimating Bonn's interest in the Balkans and also its possibilities.

[Mladic] German policy had the decisive word in isolating the Serbian people. You have blocked yourself off by doing that. Now you cannot lie in the sun at the seaside anymore; you do not have free passage.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why should Germany want to wage a war in the Balkans today?

[Mladic] Because you Germans want to be the greatest and the first in the world again.

[DER SPIEGEL] This is nonsense. Germany needs all its strength and energy for the reconstruction in the former GDR.

[Mladic] German politicians are supporting the Croat Tudjman [Croatian president] and those forces that have destroyed Yugoslavia. You have been the godfather to that destruction.

Bosnian Croat Authorities Said Harassing Muslims

LD1502210793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1949 GMT 15 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 15 (TANJUG)—Arif Pasalic, the commander of the Fourth Corps of the Moslem Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) said on Monday [15 February] that Moslems have been harassed more than once by BiH Croats in Croat-controlled towns.

Pasalic told a press conference in Mostar—a Croat-controlled town in Hercegovina—that such incidents jeopardize relations between Moslems and Croats, otherwise allies against Serbs, Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo said.

Croat authorities in the Hercegovina town of Capljina arrest members of the so-called BiH Moslem Army only because they are wearing the Army markings, Pasalic said.

Moslem civilians are also being harassed, he said, specifying that the Croat authorities in Capljina do not give Moslems permits to leave the town.

"Moslem students refuse to attend classes at the Capljina secondary school because only Croatian symbols are displayed in classrooms," Pasalic added.

Relations between Moslems and Croats have been seriously disturbed in the past month since fierce clashes broke out between Moslem and Croat forces in Central Bosnia because of future control over towns with mixed population.

In the towns under their control, Bosnian Croats are using the money, flag and other official symbols of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia, provoking Moslem discontent and resentment.

Commentary Assesses Possible Balkan Alliances

AU1702164293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Commentary by Zoran Pirolic]

[Text] One of the greatest supporters of military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Turkish President Turgut Ozal, is at the moment on a very important tour of the Balkans countries. Ozal has visited Bulgaria, and is still to visit Albania, Macedonia and Croatia.

As the most important regional power and the most stable pillar of the NATO pact in this part of Europe, Turkey above all wants to stop the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, but, unlike its allies, it is convinced that this can only be done by military intervention and by lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia-Hercegovina. Ankara has been openly dissatisfied with the American plan for the solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict, as Washington gave preference to the negotiating process that has so far favored only the aggressor. Albania and Croatia have more or less similar attitudes to that of Turkey, while Bulgaria has also expressed a desire to see harsher and more decisive measures taken against the Belgrade regime.

The other bloc of countries, whose interests are quite different, consists of Greece, Romania and Serbia. Observers have recently failed to notice a top-level meeting between Romania and Greece in Bucharest, when emphasis was placed on the great similarity of these two countries' interests. Athens and Bucharest are the closest allies of the Milosevic regime, not only for historical reasons or their shared Orthodox religion, but also for their great common interests and even common enemies. In its absurd struggle to have the international recognition of Macedonia rejected, which has further destabilized relations in the Balkans, Greece has found the greatest ally in Serbia, which has for its own part never given up its territorial ambitions toward its southern neighbor. Romania and Serbia have an identical and increasing mistrust of Hungary. Greek and Turkish rivalry is traditional, and has in the last several decades come to the very verge of open warfare a few times because of their differences concerning Cyprus and the territorial misunderstandings concerning the Aegean.

This rift on NATO's southern flank no longer carries the same weight as in the days when the western military alliance was faced with the powerful Soviet bloc, but any conflict between Greece and Turkey is extremely unpleasant and dangerous for the West. The major catalyst for a Balkan war, however, is the greater Serbian expansionism that has already triggered off wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and created the realistic possibility of war spreading to the Sandzak, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

One could say that this is nothing new for this region, since a similar ideology from the same center has led to earlier crusades with the aim of assembling all Serbs into one state. The element that gives particular weight to this confrontation of the two blocs of countries and interests in the Balkans is the possibility of the great powers backing one side or the other. Belgrade is openly counting on support from Russia, which still does not have clearly defined foreign policy interests and aims, but is looked upon hopefully as the saviour of Orthodoxy. The United States is traditionally a close ally of Turkey, and in the present war in the former Yugoslavia, it is firmly supporting Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, although this does not mean that Washington is ready to punish Serbia militarily.

It is hard to tell whether a Balkan war will break out in two months, as EC Commission President Jacques Delors claimed yesterday, but it is true that the Balkans have once again justified their reputation as a powder keg. All the questions in the Balkans remain open, old alliances are coming to life again, and new ones are being formed. Old hatreds and animosities are being renewed. The people of Bosnia-Hercegovina are at the moment paying the highest price for this. They are the ones who are paying for the world's reluctance to halt the greater Serbian aggression effectively.

Hadzic 'Pleased' With Talks in New York

AU1702200793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Statement by Goran Hadzic, president of the self-styled Republic of Serbian Krajina, to Belgrade Radio Beograd Network; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] We have just returned from today's negotiations. It is 1430 here in America, while it is already evening where you are.

I can say that I am pleased with this part of the talks. We are also pleased with the behavior of (?the UN representatives) and they are also very satisfied with us, and they have told us so. Both sides were very communicative.

It is expected that with their arrival today, the Croatian delegation will say more about the possibility of resolving this situation. Personally, I am not a great optimist when it comes to the behavior of the Croatian side. However, what is important is that we have demonstrated how communicative we are and that the world knows that Croatia is the one that is throttling the further development of the talks and [word indistinct] of the situation in former Yugoslavia.

We have offered to open the Maslenica bridge to the civilian sector, that is to say, the civilian traffic and have proposed that Zemunik airport also be used for civilian traffic, and that the airport be under the control of the UN Protection Force. I believe that this is good and an expression of our good will for further cooperation. However, Croatia with its aggression has completely undermined the trust that had been established to an extent during the one year of peace. All the agreements, acceptances, and possible yielding on our part are, of course, on condition that Croatia first fulfills UN Resolution No. 800 and unconditionally withdraws from the territories it has conquered. If Croatia does not withdraw, then there is also no point in the talks that we are conducting here.

Krajina's Jarcevic Views War, Diplomacy

AU1702160893 Sarajevo JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 93 p 9

[Interview with Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Milena Tanjga; place and date not given: "A Major Battle Is Ahead of Us"]

[Excerpts] At time when the Croatian army is attacking the borders of the republic of Serbian Krajina with all its forces, and when it is trying to force the Serbs to live within the borders of the former communist Croatia, the battle for the defense of the new state is accompanied by another equally dramatic battle. The diplomats of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, whose foreign minister is Slobodan Jarcevic, are doing their utmost to breach the diplomatic and information blockade to inform the world clearly that the Serbs on the borders of a great Serbian state will never tie their future and their fate to Croatia, which has tried to extinguish and expel Serbs from its soil three times this century.

In the talk—which was conducted in the bureau of the Republic of Serbian Krajina amid various invitations to the Serb delegation to go to New York to hold negotiations with the Croats—Minister Jarcevic explained to us all the traps and tricks devised by the enemy with the aim of persuading the world that the people of Krajina are a group of rebels that should be brought to their senses and placed under the patronage of the Croatian state. Judging by the way the world is now behaving toward the young state, there is no doubt that one needs to prepare oneself for a great and painstaking battle on both the diplomatic and the war front. Minister Jarcevic spoke first hand about everything that is now happening concerning our young state.

[Tanjga] At the time of the fiercest attacks by the Croatian Army on Krajina, another equally dramatic battle is being waged on the diplomatic front. Your job as minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is not easy at all.

[Jarcevic] It is clear what my job is. I and my ministry would find our job easy to do if we were dealing with a world that understood us, if we were dealing with a world that recognized us as a people with the right to self-determination and a people who created their own state. This world does not want to recognize either of these two realities, neither our right to self- determination, nor the fact that we have created our state. With these two elements lacking, the world does not want to maintain contacts with us. In all conflicts, including this most perfidious aggression on our country, the world has been warning us to behave correctly and to negotiate with the Croats. It insists that we should respect the Vance plan. The Vance plan envisages two things: First, that we should hand over our heavy and automatic weapons, everything except our pistols, while on the other hand the Croats would be able to obtain even nuclear weapons. Second, the plan envisages the return of Croat refugees to their homes in the republic of Serbian Krajina, but does not say anything about the protection of the Serbian population on Croatia's territory. According to our information, the Croats have expelled 300,000 Serbs from Zagreb and other towns and villages, far from the borders of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and we have not managed to have this matter put on the agenda of the Security Council. Butrus Butrus-Ghali and all others who know this very well have been ignoring us. We wrote a letter to various parliaments in the world for this to be put on the agenda, because we owe nothing to Croatia. We will do everything possible to protect the 100,000 Croats who left our country if the same protection is offered to our people.

[Tanjga] Did you receive a reply to your letter from any parliament?

[Jarcevic] No one replied, and then we made another, last move. There would be nothing else left to do after that. We asked the Federal Diplomatic Service to forward our letter to the leaders of opposition parties. If a parliament does not want to ask the government to explain its position, this will perhaps be done by an opposition party. One month has passed, but we have not had any reply yet. [passage omitted]

[Tanjga] In Belgrade, where the Republic of Serbian Krajina has an office, in addition to all the things that you have to do, you also work and maintain contacts with the representatives of all countries that have diplomatic offices here. What do they say about what the situation in our country, considering that they are closer to true information here than they would be if they were outside our country?

[Jarcevic] All the embassies in Belgrade maintain contacts with us illegally, so to speak, in order obviously to conceal such contacts with us and their interest in the situation here, and in order not to be discovered to have communicated with us as a state. Everything they want to hear from us or tell us is done by word of mouth. Nothing is put in writing and no meetings are arranged. The only written correspondence with them is one-way: We write letters to them in response to their oral requests. [passage omitted]

[Tanjga] Which countries are most interested in the situation in the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Jarcevic] The countries that have soldiers in Krajina as part of the UN forces. These soldiers, whose mothers have sent them to the international forces [as published], are not treated in the most honest way. We warned them that there is a danger of soldiers being contaminated. We have information that Croatia is dumping nuclear wasted in those areas, particularly in Slavonia. None of the governments that were contacted have reacted to this. [passage omitted]

[Tanjga] What was the meaning of the invitation from the United Nations to the Serbian delegation to come for talks with the Croatian side in New York?

[Jarcevic] We did not reject the invitation, because we did not get an official invitation. The first invitation consisting of two sentences was sent by fax to Defense Minister Spanovic, and you know how busy he is now with the aggression against Krajina. He has to protect the lives of people and the army. The invitation came from Vance and Owen [Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen], but there was no signature on it. This was on 5 February, and we were supposed to be in New York on 6 February. Several hours later the invitation was sent again, this time with the signatures of Vance and Owen. I spoke to the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] office in Belgrade and they insisted that we go. I refused because no official invitation was sent to our government. I said that when we got an official invitation we would think about it. After that an official invitation was sent. It was addressed to Goran Hadzic [Republic of Serbian Krajina president], but it did not specify his title or the name of the state.

[Tanjga] In the context of everything that you said, how will you, as minister of foreign affairs, organize your diplomatic tactics and strategy for the Republic of Serbian Krajina to be internationally recognized?

[Jarcevic] Mrs. Tanjga, we can organize a battle on the diplomatic front under the condition that we endure and win on the war front. If we lose on that front, the entire world will accept the fact that the Serb rebellion in Croatia was crushed and everyone will support the Republic of Croatia. We are aware of that. Therefore, we must do everything possible to win on the front and defeat the enemy. [passage omitted]

[Tanjga] The governments of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] met recently. What was discussed?

[Jarcevic] We have a common enemy and numerous common problems. Croatia has 60,000 soldiers on the border with Serbian Hercegovina. Attacks on Orasje are happening every day. This army is attacking the Serbian republic, it has attacked us, and it is only natural that we should discuss how to fight against the common enemy. [passage omitted]

Serbs Step Up Attacks in Central Croatia

LD1702164693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The enemy has stepped up attacks in the area around Karlovac, Duga Resa, and Ogulin, and snipers recently have been particularly dangerous, it was said at a regular weekly news conference held today in the Karlovac fourth operative zone of the Croatian Army. Major Marinko Marinovic said that chetnik snipers had wounded two home guards in Sajevac and a member of the UN Protection Force in Barilovic. A member of the protection forces was injured last night in a minefield at the Ogulin battlefront. All the wounded are in stable condition.

Reinforced units of the Croatian Army in the battlefields along the Kupa and Korana Rivers are ready to react to attacks and provocations, and are holding their positions firmly, Major Marinovic stressed.

Serb Army Reports Fighting in Maslenice, Slavonia

AU1702162593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] The general staff of the Serbian army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina broadcast a report on the continued offensive of the Croatian army along almost the entire line of the front, except in the direction of Sinj.

The result of the artillery attacks on the hamlet of (?Vujko) and other parts of Velika Glava in the Skradin hinterland is that nearly all the houses have been damaged or destroyed. In the direction of Obrovac, Croatian artillery is firing from the temporarily occupied towns of Maslenice and Jesenice in the vicinity of Benkovac. The fiercest fire is coming from the—also temporarily occupied [word indistinct]—Vasinski and Ruplje at Donje Biljane and Gornji Zemunik.

Provocations have been observed in the border areas of Lika, Kordun and Banija. Near the border in Eastern Slavonia the provocations are particularly frequent in the Nustar area.

The general staff of the Krajina army has protested against EC representatives carrying out polls on the possibility of coexistence with the Croats—polls for which they do not have a mandate.

Serb 'Marine Saboteurs' Reportedly Destroy Ferry

AU1702211493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Report by Radmila Kablar from Knin]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to a report by the general staff of the Krajina army, a special unit of marine saboteurs [pomorski diverzanti] of the Serbian army in Novigrad Sea near Posedarje destroyed a Croatian ferry yesterday that was carrying tanks and a large quantity of ammunition.

FRY Daily Announces 'Rift' in Krajina Leadership

AU1702210393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] The internal rift between what appear to be two groups of leaders in the Republic of Serbian Krajina started with an undisguised struggle for dominance on Knin Radio and Television, VECERNJE NOVOSTI concludes in today's issue.

The majority of Knin residents are revolted by the behavior of the current leaders of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, principally [Krajina president] Goran Hadzic, [assembly chairman] Mile Paspalj, and [foreign minister] Slobodan Jarcevic. It is precisely this trio that forms the delegation that Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance have invited to the talks in New York.

They are being reproached for their shallow demagoguery, their failure to take the necessary measures to protect the Serbian territories from the long-announced Ustasha [reference to Croatian fascist state during World War II] offensive, their gullibility toward the UN Protection Force, and their lust for power.

On the other hand, Milan Martic [Krajina interior minister], who is popular among the people, in his address on Serbian Radio Knin the day before yesterday, revealed that replacements and resignations are taking place precisely as a result of the struggle for dominance over the residents of Krajina.

Groups exist in Knin as well as in the bureau of the Serbian Krajina in Belgrade whose main objective is to seize power and not to defend Serbianhood.

Martic's proclamation that he has again drawn closer to Dr. Milan Babic [Serbian leader in Croatia] and the people for whom Serbian Krajina is the ultimate goal, according to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, announces a rapid differentiation at the top of Krajina authorities, which is good evidence that nobody in Krajina can succeed if he lacks the support of the people, and the residents of Knin are increasingly more resolutely extending their support to those leaders who have proven themselves.

Deployment of UN Force Called 'Useless'

LD1602220493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] If the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] withdraws from so-called Krajina, criminal Karadzic will demand a new state: The unification of Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. In this, many people see the intensification of the war, which the West is trying to avoid. While the UN secretary general is calling for at least a temporary extension of their useless deployment, Croatia has constantly been pointing at the inability of UNPROFOR. UNPROFOR managed to stop the conflict for a short period, but it has not disarmed paramilitary formations and has not secured the return of refugees.

What can UNPROFOR promise Croatia if it prolongs its stay here? More equipment, fresh forces, and only their different deployment. What does it mean? UNPROFOR in West Sector, among its troops of 3,700, includes the Nepalese, Argentinians, Canadians and Jordanians, who even have communication problems. The United Nations can do nothing concrete in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Frequently UNPROFOR has to negotiate with local chetniks regarding the passage of humanitarian aid convoys. In a few parts of Bosnia, UNPROFOR has managed to deliver aid, but seldom, and in some parts even unsuccessfully.

In the light of the American hesitation and Yeltsin's position at home, the position of blue helmets is worsening. Their mandate bans the use of force. Sovereign Croatia has demanded the change and the widening of the mandate. Inadequate UNPROFOR is of no use to any one. What can refugees, for instance, from Pakrac, think of the blue helmets?

Director of the civilian sector, Cedric Thornberry, said the following about the ability of his troops: On one side of the fence is a Nepalese, on the other a Dutchman. An urgent message takes three to four hours. Once, Thornberry said, it took 16 hours for us to raise the alert.

Tudjman Receives Serb National Party Members

LD1602195793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received a delegation of the Serbian National Party [SNS], headed by party chairman Milan Djukic, in the presidential palace today.

The SNS representatives informed President Tudjman about the success scored by the party at the elections for deputies to the Chamber of Counties and at the local elections. Today's talks with President Tudjman touched upon all important issues regarding the status of the Serbian minority in Croatia. The talks stressed that these issues can and must be solved only in line with the Croatian constitution and the constitutional law on the protection and rights of national and ethnic communities and minorities.

The talks also covered the situation in the so-called Krajina, where only 28 percent of Croatia's Serbs live. Precisely because of this, the SNS representatives stressed, we deny the self-styled Knin leaders the right to negotiate about the status of all Serbs in Croatia. They stated that a large number of people living in the so-called Krajina oppose the current illegitimate government. They voiced the SNS' readiness to make efforts to normalize relations and find a solution in a peaceful and democratic manner.

Muslim Party Favors Autonomy of Dalmatia

AU1502130693 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 93 p 5

[Report by A. M.: "Autonomy for Dalmatia"]

[Text] Because of the current policy of the Croatian leadership and the ruling Croatian Democratic Community, the "Dalmatian Action" [Party of Democratic Action] is increasingly openly advocating the view that Dalmatia should be autonomous. As a region, Dalmatia has never economically been linked to the other parts of the Republic of Croatia. In the economic sense, Dalmatia is similar to western Hercegovina and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, where most of its supplies come from.

"Dalmatian Action" claims that it knows why the Ustashas from Sinj mined the Peruca dam at the order of the Croatian leadership. Trilj, Sinj, Omis, and other places along the Cetina River had to be wiped out from the map to justify further Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serbian Krajina. In this way the economy of this region would have been totally destroyed. Zemunik airport is in a similar situation. The airport could be considered totally unusable since some of its parts have been put out of action, while the runway for civilian aircraft, which has been mined, can only be destroyed. In view of new circumstances, the construction of a new runway would last years, and it is questionable whether it would ever be rebuilt.

The rebuilding of the Maslenica bridge is equally uncertain. Maslenica is on the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and the alleged laying of the corner stone there will remain only a symbolic act. Considering all these facts, perhaps the only acceptable solution is that the people in Dalmatia be granted full economic, cultural, and political autonomy within the Republic of Croatia and the opportunity to decide on their future themselves.

Election Results Weaken Ruling Party in Istria

AU1702091393 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 p 10

[Article by Davor Butkovic: "Is the Croatian Democratic Community Expelled From the Town?"]

[Text] Several days after the regional and local elections, it seems that all parties that remained on the Croatian political scene are satisfied. Instead of bitter arguments and mutual criticism, the leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], and the Croatian Peasant Party [HSS] are congratulating one another on their success in the elections. For the sake of ideology, the Istrian Democratic Assembly [IDS], whose victory in the region where it ran was the most convincing of all, was excluded from the celebration idyll, as was the Dalmatian Action Party [DA], which can be quite satisfied with votes gained in the elections for the Parliament's Chamber of Counties, and even more with the results for the county and municipal assemblies.

Everyone is quite satisfied with the results of the elections, because, seemingly, no one lost. The HDZ also controls the Chamber of Counties, it won in the majority of counties, the Istrians accomplished everything they wanted and could have accomplished, the DA has been growing from the trivial into a more respectable party, and the HSLS, and even the HSS, have proved that they are in possession of real political power, and that they are continuously growing. However, the reserved assessments by the President of the Republic and the leader of the major party, regarding the outcome of the regional and local elections, are not groundless. Contrary to the official party statement saying that the HDZ is "very satisfied with the results," there is the fact that the HDZ is, in a certain way, the only loser in the elections. The HDZ has lost towns.

According to the results issued by Tuesday evening, the HDZ will not rule over Rijeka, Pula, Pazin (the only Istrian town where a party with the Croatian emblem had been the ruling party), Cakovec, Koprivnica, and allegedly even in Imotski. Particularly significant is that the HDZ lost its two, until now, extremely secure footholds - Osijek and Split, where the liberals won, or rather the opposition coalition lead by the liberals. The loss of the largest towns in Dalmatia and Slavonia is a serious political blow to the HDZ, and cannot be concealed with statements about their pleasure with the results.

Support to Tudjman, but not to the HDZ

Why has the HDZ been expelled from some of the largest Croatian urban centers? The opposition leaders have often said that it is the country that votes for the HDZ. Some recent polls confirmed that a large number of the HDZ voters are of a lower educational level, that they are mostly older, extremely conservative voters. However, it is impossible to explain the defeat of the HDZ in the town only by the alleged greater popularity of the ruling party among the country people than among townspeople. The HDZ, for example, maintained power in the largest Croatian city, Zagreb, yet with a smaller margin than before.

The results of the elections for the municipal assemblies are quite different from those for the Chamber of Counties and county assemblies. The question is: where did the HDZ lose the votes that it won in the regional elections?

A part of the answer should undoubtedly be sought in the territorial definition of certain towns: According to this criterion, the HDZ did not win a county by the votes of its central town, but rather through the votes of smaller townships. In conclusion it must be added that a greater percentage of the HDZ votes in the regional elections represents support of Tudjman's state policy, while the defeat of the HDZ in local elections reflects the people's mistrust of the local masters that have come into power in the past two years. The local defeats of the HDZ have shown that staff policy is one of the greatest problems of the ruling party. The HDZ has too few qualified people to govern the whole of Croatia.

Thus, looking at these elections, it appears that the Croats gave their vote to Dr. Tudjman, but no longer in such large numbers wanted to support his party on all levels of authority. After all, there was a disproportion in votes between Tudjman and his party even in the August elections, when the President won 12 percent more votes than the HDZ.

It is quite logical that the disproportion is even bigger now, in view of the fact that the people are dissatisfied with an ever worsening standard of living and an obvious incapability to solve some of the most important political problems.

It is just the defeat in isolated and frustrated Split, and in the economically devastated Osijek, which is still on the front line of battle, where crime rules, and which is spilling over with refugees who cannot return to their not so distant homes across the River Drava, that best speaks of how the dissatisfaction of the electorate influenced the outcome of the local elections.

The defeat of the HDZ in the town will generate a significantly new situation in our political life: The question of the cooperation of the opposition urban authorities with the local rural authorities will be brought up for consideration. True, we had a similar situation after the 1990 elections, when Primorje and Rijeka were governed by Ivica Racan's [former president of the League of Communists for Croatia] social democrats (then still communists), however, such a situation was in a short time overcome, first with the actual coalition of the Social Democratic Party and the HDZ, and thereafter with Racan's party's loss of political strength.

Istrian Catastrophe

The situation that has come about after the recent elections is quite different: The central authorities will either have to cooperate with some opposition parties that won in certain towns, which can bring about the decentralization of some important political or economic decisions, or the local HDZ, with the assistance of Zagreb, will have to engage in a quiet takeover of power, which in Split can only possibly be conducted by breaking the opposition coalition.

The wekening of the HDZ in important Croatian towns is not its only failure in the regional and local elections. Apart from losing Split and Osijek, the ruling party experienced a real debacle in Istria, although it invested all its energy there. De facto, the HDZ conducted its entire campaign because of Istria, only to win three seats in the Istrian County Assembly, as opposed to 35 seats of the IDS! This catastrophe will probably make the leadership of the HDZ thoroughly reconsider its attitude toward the richest Croatian region.

The elections, with which everyone is, seemingly, satisfied, have brought something significantly new in post-communist Croatia: On Sunday, 7 February, the HDZ experienced its first serious defeat in the field of internal policy. From its founding up to the recent elections, the HDZ has continuously grown: Despite unfair conditions in the first campaign, it convincingly surpassed the communists, and when Tudjman demanded the referendum on independence to obtain support for his future political moves, he got it with the acclaim, although the opposition denounced the referendum.

Finally, in the August elections, the HDZ won more seats than any leader of the ruling party dared to hope for.

Beside all that, the HDZ was growing more and more in those parts of the country, excluding Istria, where it had accomplished worse results in the first Croatian multiparty elections. And now, for the first time since its founding, the HDZ is faced with a partial political defeat.

The basic question imposed by these elections is whether the loss of important towns, and the fiasco in Istria indicate at the same time the start of a new trend in Croatian political life, or if it is a warning to the HDZ.

In the former case, the state-national, slightly old-fashioned rhetorics will not be dominant in Croatia any longer, but the determination for a political option or party, based on the real interests of the electorate will be dominant, in view of the fact that—despite the war, and

occupied territories—the Croatian state has definitely been established, which means that the question of the state can no longer be the main point in any political platform. If that is so, then the HDZ will have to radically change its political method, as well as the arguments that it addresses to the people ("It is we who created this state," "It is we who took pains to defend the country," and so forth).

However, if all this does not hint at the change in the, until now, dominant political mood in Croatia, which is quite probable regarding the good results of the ruling party in the regional elections, then the defeat in the town should be understood as a warning from an electorate that is dissatisfied not only with the economic-political situation, but also with the "manner of behavior" of some people in the HDZ.

Commentary: Elections Prove Democratic Maturity

AU1602170393 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 93 p 2

[Commentary by Darko Duretek: "For a Continuity of Croatian Policy"]

[Text] On Sunday, the citizens of Croatia once again went to the polls and cast their vote for a democratic Croatia. Only small samples of the ballots have been counted, but it can already be said that there were no significant surprises. Except for those that primarily reflect the electoral success or failure of certain opposition parties and their political options and programs. Global electoral success was achieved in the first place by the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], but also by the HSS [Croatian Peasant's Party]. These parties will probably exercise a significant part of the authority on a local level, either independently or in coalition with others.

With these elections, the constitutional and legal organization of Croatia has been completed. Along with the important political issues, now is the time when the economic and other issues concerning the establishment and development of our state will start to become the priority.

The Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] has once again emerged as the electoral victor. The Croatian people and all its citizens had the democratic right to vote, which they used to vote for a policy that, during the last difficult but historic years, has freed Croatia from the shackles of "Serboslavia" and secured our country's recognition and acceptance by the international community. If, as a starting point, we take the fact that the will of the people is of immeasurable value and something that should never be depreciated, the elections have shown that the Croatian citizens have once again given the HDZ and its program the mandate to lead the country through the Scylla and Charybdis of the times we are living in. This is paramount for the continuity of all we have set as our historic goal, just as it is one more loud message to all those who do not want Croatia to be what it is today, and who, out of dark motives, persist in trying to make Croats quarrel among themselves.

The elections have also shown the real state of affairs and the ratio of power on the Croatian opposition scene. The HSLS has confirmed its position as the leading opposition party, but the greatest surprise (despite the fact that some people predicted it) is the significant success of the HSS. This party, whose program is based on Radic's [HSS leader in the 1920s] legacy, now appears, in power and influence, as the second opposition and third political party in Croatia. It was precisely the HSS's attitude towards the elections, its refusal to boycott them, and its desire to participate independently and not as part of a coalition of opposition parties, that caused the severest criticism of certain opposition parties. The first results show that the HSS was right in its estimates—it was a risk, but it paid off.

All the other opposition parties, with the exception of the IDS [the Istrian Democratic Party], were more or less defeated. Some however, suffered real catastrophes, which will leave their leaderships with their hands full. They will first of all have to consider whether there is any point in continuing their political activity. The extreme left and the extreme right received only insignificant crumbs of the electoral cake that was distributed by the Croatian citizens. Therefore, we can expect that, in the times ahead, these political options will become so marginalized that some parties will eventually disappear. In the future, the Croatian political scene will be made up of the three influential parties that have the trust of the citizens, a lesser number of parties which will cooperate with them and whose influence will be felt primarily at the local level, and parties which will go on being an end in themselves, but which will probably disappear like soap suds.

What is important is that in these elections, Croatian citizens have shown a political maturity which was denied them by certain opposition parties. The electoral body did not want significant changes, but a continuity of the policy which so far has led to many desired goals. The international community must also reckon with Sunday's electoral results in its future attitude towards Croatia. Its representatives, in the role of monitors, monitored the elections and they had almost no comments on their organization and conduct. This is a significant confirmation of the success of the elections and proof of the maturity of Croatian democracy.

Paper Explains Role of Chamber of Counties

AU1602092993 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Aleksa Crnjakovic: "The Chamber of Common Sense and Wisdom"]

[Text] With a seven-month delay, but still not behind schedule, the lower chamber of the Croatian Parliament was elected - the Chamber of Counties. It will consist of 63 members representing six political parties. Like the

upper chamber, it will be dominated by the ruling party—the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) with, probably, 37 representatives (the results are not yet final). The second strongest party, the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS), will have 16 representatives. There follow the Croatian Peasants Party (HSS) with five, the Istrian Democratic Alliance (IDS) with three, and the Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDPH) and the Croatian National Party (HNS) with one representative each. As soon as the Chamber of Counties is constituted, which should be within 20 days after the election at the latest, its number will be augmented by five more representatives appointed by President Tudjman according to the criteria of respect, professionalism, and honor. This means that this Chamber will have 68 members with all rights and obligations. Some people say that lower chambers are mostly a kind of political burden that cost more than they are worth—not only in Croatia, but also in similarly organized Western democracies. This is not completely true, even though the Chamber of Counties does not have a decision-making role in the Croatian Parliament—all questions in Parliament are decided by the Chamber of Representatives. Why was it necessary then to establish this weak chamber? Does it only have a decorative role in democracy? It is not as simple as that.

The scope of the work of the Chamber of Counties includes three main task groups. First, the Chamber is entitled to propose new laws and schedule referendums. This is its main function. The second function encompasses discussion of and opinions on all issues that fall within the authority of the Chamber of Representatives. This means that it may discuss any law, election, or appointment. It is not obliged to do so, but it may. The opinion of the Chamber of Counties is not binding, although "the older brother"—the Chamber of Representatives—is obliged to hear this opinion.

What is the Chamber of Counties obliged to do? It is obliged to submit to the Chamber of Representatives its preliminary opinion on any change of the Constitution, as well as on any of the so-called organic laws; these are the laws on national rights, on constitutional freedoms, and on human and civil rights, on the election system, on the organization of political bodies, and on the organization of local autonomy. The Chamber of Counties is obliged to give its preliminary opinion on these laws.

As we learned in an interview with Smiljko Sokol—a minister in the Croatian Government and a professor of Constitutional Law at the Zagreb Law School, who is also one of the authors of the Croatian Constitution and the election law—there is also a third group of tasks under the charge of the Chamber of Counties. It includes only one right, but legally it is the most important one; it could also become politically very important in the event that one party does not have the simple majority in one of the counties, unlike the present situation. This is the right to put a suspension veto on all laws passed by the Chamber of Representatives. In such a situation, the Chamber of Counties may within 15 days from the day a law has been accepted by the Chamber of Representatives file a well substantiated opinion asking the Chamber of Representatives to discuss the law once again. This time the law itself must be passed by a simple majority of all Chamber of Representatives' members. It must also be mentioned that laws (except for "organic" laws) are passed by a simple majority of members present provided that at least one half of the Chamber of Representatives' members are present. A simple majority of all members of the Chamber of Representatives is now 70, since the total number of members of 138; the minimum number of members present is 36 if a simple quorum is to be achieved. As we can see, there could be a big difference between these two majorities. In the present situation though, the question is only academic since the Croatian Democratic Community has a simple majority of the Chamber of Representatives' members (37 out of a total of 138), and it also reached a simple majority in the Chamber of Counties (37 out of 63). Accordingly, the suspension veto could—theoretically speaking—only come into play if the two majorities of the Croatian Democratic Community had different views on a law.

There are two other important things for which the Chamber of Counties is responsible. First, it proposes to the Chamber of Representatives the appointment of Constitutional Court judges, which means that the Chamber of Representatives may not appoint a judge who has not been proposed by the Chamber of Counties. Admittedly, Croatia already has nine Constitutional Court judges, but two still have to be appointed. Apart from that, the Chamber of Counties also proposes to the Chamber of Representatives the chairman and members of the Official Council of the Republic, who are then appointed by the Chamber of Representatives. This council will be elected soon, according to a law that has already been drafted. It will have a very important function: according to the Constitution and law, it will appoint and relieve judges and district attorneys. It will also decide on their disciplinary responsibility. Finally, Mr. Sokol pointed out that judges relieved of duty by a decision of the Council of the Republic are entitled to file a claim for protection with the Chamber of Counties.

It can be concluded that the Council of Counties, apart from the above mentioned three groups of tasks, also has three important rights connected with the organization and functioning of political power. Although it does not make decisions, the Chamber of Counties, like comparable parliament chambers in developed European democracies—primarily in Italy, Spain, and to some extent in France—is a chamber in which the interests of a particular county or region concerning all the questions decided by the Chamber of Representatives can be expressed and discussed. It is clear that this role corresponds to the election principle of this Chamber. At the same time, it is also a chamber of common sense and wisdom—or it should be, since its members are supposed to be guided in discussions by arguments and not by party interests, as is the case in the Chamber of

Representatives. This naturally slows down the process of passing laws, but this lies in the nature of the law-making procedure through two chambers. In this way, the Chamber of Counties will also make the government more responsible, although it might, technically speaking, make its work more difficult.

In any case, it will be very important to regulate the work of the Chamber of Counties by the standing orders of the Parliament, so that its work helps the government instead of being an impediment in legislative procedures. However, the success of the Chamber of Counties and its bodies will depend much more on its members than on the regulations in the standing orders. The leading officials and their good contacts with the Chamber of Representatives and with the government will be especially important. If they try hard, the Chamber of Counties will not simply represent flowers in Parliament and an ornament to democracy.

President Kucan Talks With Vance, Owen

93BA0545D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Bozo Masanovic: "Kucan Talks With Vance and Owen About the Background of the Crisis"]

[Text] *The Slovene president warned his interlocutors about a fundamental dilemma: whether they will decide on solutions in principle, or accept reality.*

From our special reporter.

Geneva, 26 Jan—The cause of Yugoslavia's collapse, the culmination of which is the war in Bosnia, is the means of settling the Serbian national question, Slovene President Milan Kucan said in today's talks with the co-chairmen of the international conference on the former federation, Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance. He emphasized that until this was resolved in accordance with the principles that apply in Europe, there will be no lasting peace in this region.

During a long conversation in the Palace of Nations, in which the interlocutors did not exhaust all the unresolved issues generated by the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and the peace mediators therefore invited Milan Kucan to a working lunch, the Slovene president thought that the Serbian national question could be resolved in two ways. The first one was already indicated by the Serbian Academy's memorandum, i.e., changing Yugoslavia into a Serbian state, and—after this became unrealistic—fulfilling the concept of a Greater Serbia. The other way is solving this problem in accordance with the Paris and Helsinki documents, which guarantee that the unalterability of borders by force, the protection of minorities, and the responsibility of the parent state, something that Belgrade is not prepared to accept. The other dilemma facing the conference on the former Yugoslavia, according to Milan Kucan, is characterizing the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, i.e., whether it is a civil war or aggression against a sovereign and internationally recognized state.

Milan Kucan thinks that the continuation of the war in Bosnia suits the Serbs least of all, because in the meantime the Muslims have already recovered militarily, and through readiness for negotiations they are changing from hawks into doves. The current group at the table is not representative, since Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic should negotiate with President Alija Izetbegovic and not Mate Boban and Dr. Radovan Karadzic, who have to consult with Zagreb and Belgrade.

The Slovene president's talks with the peace negotiators, of course, also covered the crisis in the Krajina that occurred with the Croatian Army's intervention; in this regard Milan Kucan said that the intervention had undeniably occurred on part of Croatian territory, and was dictated by the link between the two parts of the country; it is another question whether Zagreb used the right means for that purpose and at the right moment. Kucan advocates extending the peacekeeping forces' mandate, as soon as possible.

[Box, p 1]

In Geneva's Palace of Nations, bilateral talks continued today between peace negotiators Owen and Vance and the leaders of the three Bosnian communities. According to a statement by their press representative Fred Eckhard, who did not give any hints about the progress of the negotiations, the current round will last at least until the end of the week, and as early as tomorrow or on Thursday they intend to convene a plenary session in which representatives of the three sides will participate, although the participation of Presidents Tudjman, Cosic, and Milosevic is not certain. In Eckhard's opinion, it is most important to get Alija Izetbegovic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, and Mate Boban to the table, but the co-chairmen also need recent data from the areas where the conflicts are raging.

Interview With New Foreign Minister Peterle

93BA0545A Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 29 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Marjeta Simunic and Joze Policar; place and date not given: "Not Just One Standard in Selecting Personnel"]

[Text] We agreed on an interview with the new Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle on Tuesday afternoon, on the day he took over on Gregorciceva Street. Just 10 minutes after the replacement, the telephones started ringing and work started at the ministry under a new conductor's baton. Nevertheless, a slightly different atmosphere was breathed that day in the corridors in front of the minister's office. We only entered after a long wait, and Peterle, tired at the end of a long day, was prepared to talk:

[Simunic] How do you conceive the foreign minister's work and role in the new government?

[Peterle] The foreign minister's role is very prominent in every country. The work that awaits us will be very demanding. We will devote most attention to the neighboring countries with which several unresolved issues still exist. Above all, I am thinking of Croatia and Italy.

Slovenia is also facing entry into European alliances, where what awaits it in particular is the very important inclusion in the EC and other international political and monetary institutions. My ministry will give even more support to the Slovene economy's efforts to participate in world markets.

[Simunic] Some people criticize your predecessor for neglecting or not being familiar with the problem of relations with Croatia. Will you devote more attention to it?

[Peterle] The settlement of the unresolved issues with Croatia is a priority task for me. I think that there have

really been several actions that have not contributed to good relations with our southern neighbor.

As soon as I started to perform my new duties I established contact with Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo.

[Simunic] What do you think about the continuation of regional cooperation (e.g., Alpe-Adria)? Slovenia, as an independent country, has a different relationship to the regions than it did when it was still one of the Yugoslav republics.

[Peterle] I support preserving and building upon what has been achieved at the regional level. We have to continue that cooperation, and I will also be very attentive to that aspect in international ties. It would not be sensible to break off ties like, for instance, the Alpe-Adria community, where numerous ties exist. The regional idea is very strong throughout Europe and it is acquiring more and more importance.

[Simunic] In the interest of balancing foreign policy, will you devote more attention to East Europe?

[Peterle] We have already been successful so far. I would like to make an effort to have us intensify that cooperation. It is extremely interesting that, for example, we signed the first economic cooperation agreement with Russia. That was still at the time when neither Russia nor Slovenia was yet formally a full state.

[Simunic] At this point you have just replaced the former minister, Mr. Dimitrij Rupel. How did the replacement go?

[Peterle] We did it without complications and in a relaxed atmosphere. To be sure, we were both in that role for the first time. We finally toasted each other with a glass of wine cooler and agreed that we would stay in touch regarding the resolution of possible issues in the future.

[Simunic] At the hearing before the State Assembly's provisional commission last Friday things did not seem very optimistic....

[Peterle] Mr. Rupel stated there the somewhat unusual demand that I not present myself as a candidate in any foreign language. To be sure, we can talk in four languages: English, German, French, and Russian. The commission decided on Slovene, which is the official language according to the Constitution.

[Simunic] Will you coordinate foreign policy within the joint cooperation of the entire government? How prominent will your role be in this regard?

[Peterle] Policy is basically established by the State Assembly. The government and the Foreign Ministry carry it out. I will take into account the rules of conduct specified by the law. Of course, the ministry will have to play a certain coordinating role, because there are actually several factors which actually create foreign policy in Slovenia, and it will obviously be necessary to take care of a certain amount of coordination here, and the ministry is obviously the key place.

[Simunic] Are you also thinking about coordination between your ministry and the state president? In the previous government that cooperation was very close.

[Peterle] We cannot talk about any such cooperation, because the president does not have any foreign policy jurisdiction; his constitutional role is defined differently. It is a representative role, which means that the president does not participate in carrying out foreign policy. Of course, I envision a certain amount of cooperation between the state president and the foreign minister within the limits of their jurisdiction.

[Simunic] In the past the Foreign Ministry has also had great powers in regulating foreign economic relations. Do you think that this could perhaps be regulated differently?

[Peterle] The law on the government and the law on foreign affairs are now in collision. I do not know of any foreign ministry that would be completely without an economic aspect, and I understand the new law on the government to mean that this ministry will also keep part of that jurisdiction, but it would be advisable for others to take over customs, regimes, and similar matters. The conclusion of international agreements—there are thus also reasons from the legal profession—should remain here. It would be inadvisable to duplicate the regulation of these matters. We have economic counselors at embassies throughout the world, and in that regard the matter has to be regulated uniformly. Of course, an analysis of economic work still awaits us at the ministry.

[Simunic] The former foreign minister complained that the Foreign Ministry would only receive 0.73 percent of the budget funds. Do you foresee any changes?

[Peterle] I cannot talk about the exact figures, but the fact is that we are providing considerably less money for Slovene foreign affairs than we did for Yugoslav diplomacy. It is hard to establish percentage ratios among ministries. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, for example, has about 7,000 employees and the proportion of expenses is different there. I think that the Foreign Ministry will need additional funds primarily for building up our diplomatic and consular network around the world. We have already achieved—if I am correctly informed—approximately two-thirds of what was planned. We also have to straighten out our ministry's premises, which will not be a small expense. If we want to function normally, the share for the Foreign Ministry will have to increase somewhat this year.

[Simunic] In addition to complaints in connection with budget funds, in the past there have also been difficulties with personnel staffing. Will you bring new people to the ministry?

[Peterle] For the time being I have only come here with my chief of staff, Tomas Kunstljer. To be sure, it is normal for the minister to bring some of his own people. I will also do so, while I will think about possible other changes when it seems necessary to me and I am more familiar with the organization.

[Simunic] You are emphasizing primarily expertise. Jozef Skolc has criticized you on the grounds that personnel policy will be handled primarily according to the desires of your party. How would you comment on that?

[Peterle] In a coalition, one party cannot decide by itself. In the past, personnel policy in this area was the domain of one privileged party. Now, of course, it is the policy of different parties. It is understandable that the partners in the government also want to put their people into the diplomatic service. I will see that these interests are taken into account. Ideology is usually discussed by those who are most encumbered by it.

[Simunic] You said that professionalism is of key significance for these services. Didn't your predecessor assert exactly the same thing?

[Peterle] The key thing is that there is no single standard. It is not exclusively professionalism, because that way we will never get out of the present structures. In that case the only possible candidates would be those who already have some experience. We must, of course, also give an opportunity to others and thus ensure the possibility of choosing among several trained experts. My predecessor also made it possible for some new people to join.

[Simunic] Now that the Ministry for Slovenes Abroad has been abolished, that area falls under your ministry. You will probably be especially interested in it. Recently there have been several polemics in connection with the proposed candidate for ambassador to Argentina.

[Peterle] The Foreign Ministry is assuming responsibility for Slovenes abroad. With respect to appointing ambassadors, the rule in the diplomatic service is that one does not speak about candidates publicly until they are confirmed by the state in which they are to serve. To be sure, this country is in a difficult position and under pressure, because the name is already public. The names have been made public here, however, and I think that this has only hurt this country, the candidate, and our foreign policy. We are giving the impression that we do not know the rules of the game.

[Simunic] Who will be your deputy?

[Peterle] A state secretary will be appointed now, but it is not yet time for a specific name.

[Simunic] Will you be more of a "flying" minister, or will you be at home more?

[Peterle] It will depend on what is needed. Of course, I do not want to travel because I like it. I will travel as much as is needed for Slovenia. I expect, however, that I will spend most of the time in Slovenia.

[Simunic] Your first visit abroad?

[Peterle] My first visit will be to the Vatican, at the proposal of the Slovene Ambassador to the Holy See Dr. Stefan Falez. I will deliver a state decoration there to Vatican State Secretary Angelo Sodan for the extraordinary services that he rendered in the international recognition of Slovenia.

On that occasion, I will also meet with people from the Italian Foreign Ministry.

[Simunic] Will you also talk about promoting a papal visit to Slovenia?

[Peterle] With respect to a papal visit, I think that it is not necessary for us to change anything. The pope has already been officially invited to Slovenia, and that invitation is in effect.

Foreign Minister, Italian Counterpart Hold Talks

AU1702134493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Approximately two hours ago, the first official meeting between Emilio Colombo and Lojze Peterle, foreign ministers of Italy and Slovenia respectively, concluded with a news conference held in Gorica. The meeting opened with the formal commissioning of a new international border crossing Neblo at Goriska Brda. Here is a report by Igor Gruden:

[Begin Gruden recording] Next Tuesday, 23 February, Italian and Slovene delegations will meet in Ljubljana and begin talks on the regulation of relations. The Italian delegation will be headed by Ambassador Sergio Berlinguer, and the head of the Slovene delegation will be announced in the days to come. This was probably the most specific decision made. The other one was that the two sides will establish a mixed commission composed of historians, sociologists, and cultural workers who will jointly research political, cultural, economic, and social history of places and people in border areas to establish to what extent ideologies polluted our relations and thereby to be able to regulate them more easily tomorrow when they are freed from the burden of the past.

Although the two ministers touched upon some essential topics, they did not go into details in any one of them. They will jointly take care about a more lively activity of the Central European Initiative and will carry out cooperation in all the stages of Slovenia's joining the EC, ranging from trade agreements to the membership.

Minister Peterle assessed the talks to be open, cooperative, and friendly. He compared them to a train that arrives on a regular schedule. Several urgent solutions will be accomplished on this ride; other questions, however, will require more time. The joint readiness on the

part of the two states to solve difficulties will be stronger than difficulties that may appear, Peterle said.

Addressing Miccio Turidlo, chairman of the regional government of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, who was present there, Peterle announced more dynamic contacts between the region and official Slovenia.

I asked the ministers at the news conference two questions: I asked Colombo whether the Italian side is of the opinion that the eventual bilateral agreement must concern both minorities, the Italian minority in Slovenia and the Slovene minority in Italy. The reply was very evasive: a document will be adopted at the end that will speak about the two minorities, but failed to state the method of protection in any of the two states—whether it will be regulated only by internal legislatures or established internationally. The reply failed to satisfy this reporter, who asked the question.

I asked Lojze Peterle whether some issues other than terminological ones were cleared up. A revision of the Osimo treaty is being talked about in Italy, while the ways to build upon it are talked about in Slovenia. He replied that at today's talks he had not heard the word revision spoken by either of the sides, but he noted readiness to regulate relations anew in the spheres where this is necessary and in conformity with the new facts. [end recording]

First Disputes Arise in Government Coalition

93BA0545E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "The First Outlines of the New Party-Oriented Foreign Policy Have Been Drawn"]

[Text] *Franco Juri—first victim of the government coalition; did Drnovsek reconcile himself with ideological guidelines, or is it just part of an agreement with Peterle?; the Christian Democrats' diplomatic fiefdoms: Argentina, Canada, and Australia.*

Ljubljana, 26 Jan—The case of Franco Juri, who was already confirmed in Slovenia as ambassador to Argentina, but now obviously will not go to Buenos Aires, opens up several interesting questions, not only about what the foreign policy of new Minister Lojze Peterle will be like, but also certainly the important question of whether Janez Drnovsek, who is also president of the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], can permit such a violation of the party's integrity? And what does it mean for Slovene foreign policy?

Franco Juri would have been the first representative of the Liberal Democrats in the Slovene diplomatic service, if there had not been complications, of course. Lojze Peterle, even while presenting his ministerial candidacy before a special commission of the State Assembly, said in response to several questions about complications regarding Franco Juri's departure for Argentina that he would still have to think it all over, since he had allegedly heard of protests by Argentine Slovenes that would have to be taken into account. Of course, the political emigres did not declare Juri to be persona non grata by themselves, since finally, it is known that the Slovene People's Party from Argentina merged some time ago with the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD]. It is an important fact that it was precisely the Christian Democrats who were most opposed to his candidacy, more from an ideological standpoint than anything else, since the SKD believes Franco Juri to be an "incorrigible leftist." The alliance of the SKD and the Argentine People's Party was the one that gave rise to the joint opposition. Numerous Argentine Slovenes from that party's ranks have close ties with the government of Argentine President Carlos Menem. Thus, the son of Herman Zupan, a political emigre and Slovenia's current honorary consul in Argentina, is a personal friend of the president's. Tine Vivod, the Buenos Aires Province's deputy in the regional parliament and a government adviser, also has close ties with the Argentine Government leadership.

All of this has to be taken into consideration, along with the fact that back in December Slovenia sent Argentina all the necessary documents for the appointment of Franco Juri as Slovene ambassador. Prior to this his candidacy was confirmed by the Assembly, the Slovene Foreign Ministry, the government, and Republic President Milan Kucan. They are all waiting in vain now for an answer to come, however, since Argentina has yet to approve Juri's candidacy according to procedure. It is thus obvious that there has been some complication, which is also proven by the visit by Argentine Ambassador to Slovenia Jorge Taian last Wednesday. President Kucan and Deputy Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, in fact, asked him when his government would confirm Juri's arrival, but the ambassador did not answer. Lojze Peterle, to be sure, met with Taian after his meeting with Kucan, but also already a day earlier.

Of course, everything indicates clear political motives for the fact that after almost two months Argentina has not yet provided an answer. Finally, it is customary in diplomacy that the other state answers within a month. On the other hand, this is already indicating the first outlines of the new foreign policy under Lojze Peterle's leadership. Let us just recall that even under Demos's government he tried to neutralize Dimitrij Rupel and achieve the appointment of ambassadors with an exclusively Christian Democratic provenance. Lojze Peterle will obviously try to promote a clearly party-oriented foreign policy. The Christian Democrats' diplomatic sphere of interest—some people call it Peterle's diplomatic fiefdoms—are, specifically, precisely Argentina, Canada, and Australia. This is logical, of course, if we take into account the fact that it is precisely in those countries that there are the most Slovene political emigres, which are a sort of "natural base" for the Slovene Christian Democrats, ideologically and financially. For the Christian Democrats those emigres are a reserve for electoral votes, and in them they have always had a strong financial sponsor as well. According to our information, Marjan Majcen, a Christian Democrat over

whom there have already been a lot of disputes between Peterle and Rupel, is to leave for Canada.

Did party president and the prime minister, Janez Drnovsek, simply reconcile himself to such party-oriented and ideological orientations of Slovene foreign policy, or is it part of an agreement between him and Peterle on "coalition nonaggression"? Whatever the case, Drnovsek, precisely because of his yielding in the case of Franco Juri, has proven that his already proverbially known "pragmatic" views are in the forefront, in connection with which he is risking increased dissatisfaction within his own party. In fact, it is not unknown that several LDS members from individual regional organizations are increasingly dissatisfied with Drnovsek's party policy and his policy toward the party.

In the coalition maneuvers between Drnovsek and Peterle, Franco Juri has become an unimportant factor. Between the two possibilities (concluding peace and alliance with Peterle or a conflict within the LDS), Drnovsek obviously decided on the second, realizing that he had already disciplined individual members of the party leadership and deputies, also by completely cutting them off from the important information necessary for decision-making in the party. That is why the fact that the meeting of the party council (where the agreement between the LDS and SKD was decided on) was not attended by Mile Setinc, who is chairman of that council, is interesting and eloquent.

Rehabilitation of Country's Banks Begins

93BA0545B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Miha Jenko: "The Rehabilitation of Our Banks Has Started"]

[Text] *The Slovene Government has adopted a decision on the rehabilitation of the Ljubljanska Banka [LB] stock company; the beginning of the stabilization of the entire financial system in Slovenia.*

Ljubljana, 27 Jan—With today's decision by the Slovene Government, the rehabilitation of the Ljubljana Banka stock company was also formally and legally able to begin. Three documents were decisive for its commencement: the decision on instituting rehabilitation proceedings, the decision on the activity of its administration, and an assessment of the financial status that accompanies the above-mentioned decisions, which bear the signature of the governor of the Bank of Slovenia, Dr. France Arhar.

As Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari stated at today's press conference, LB's rehabilitation took into account the following basic principles: In the rehabilitation the bank's owners have to assume the risk; along with the bank's financial restructuring, its managerial restructuring also has to start; and the interests of its depositors and creditors at home and abroad must be protected by the bank's rehabilitation. He said that the decision to institute rehabilitation takes all of this into account, and this also begins the process of the revival of the Slovene economy and the stabilization of the entire financial system. This contributes to greater security for creditors and depositors, which is also guaranteed by the law passed yesterday on settling obligations and unpaid foreign exchange deposits. According to him, the funds in LB are safely deposited. He also said that LB's status was not changing in relation to foreign countries and foreign creditors, and that conditions had been ensured for the bank to continue to operate freely. The government decided that it would issue a formal announcement of the beginning of the rehabilitation, which it will send to foreign creditors and the countries with which LB and Slovenia have close financial relations.

Bank of Slovenia Governor Dr. France Arhar emphasized the extraordinary significance of the fact that as the rehabilitation procedure continued LB would operate normally at home and in relations with foreign countries; the latter relations are also of extraordinary significance for the Slovene state. Rehabilitation of the bank will be taken over by the state (which at the same time will be its new owner), and it will be represented by the Rehabilitation Agency. In fact, analysis has shown that there is no large bank either in Slovenia or also among interested foreign banks that would be able to take over LB's rehabilitation. The governor also warned debtor banks not to forget that they are still debtors and that from today on they have a new creditor, i.e., the Rehabilitation Agency. The chairman of the expert council of the Agency for the Rehabilitation of Banks, M.A. Miro Kos, said that with the beginning of rehabilitation the bank's solvency would be fundamentally better than it was yesterday. He also described the rehabilitation model: when the current loss is written off, the bank's capital, in accordance with the law, will be transferred to the Agency, and the management rights of the bank's former stockholders will thus cease. He also announced that LB would temporarily lower the interest rates that it charged. The old and new head of LB, Marko Voljc, emphasized that under the new system it would be possible to deal separately with the healthy and sick parts of the bank's balance-sheet, and the bank would thus be able to conduct its business more easily and better.

The bank's new leadership will be organized according to the "tete-a-tete" principle, and it will consist of Chairman Marko Voljc, the former acting general director, and Boris Zakrajsak, former member of its board of directors and director of Stol in Kamnik. The trustee from the Agency for the Rehabilitation of Banks who will oversee the rehabilitation will be Janko Dezelak, chairman of the committee for credit-monetary affairs in the previous parliament. The state is expected to allocate about 1.2 billion marks in bonds for LB's rehabilitation. The rehabilitation of several other banks is to follow soon, and the first in line among them will be the LB Credit Bank in Maribor and the LB Commercial Bank in Nova Gorica.

"LB's rehabilitation is also bringing a new leadership for the bank. The bank's new owner is the state. Together with the Rehabilitation Agency, which represents the state and the government, we appointed a new board for LB. In the decision, we appointed two members of the board, Marko Voljc, who has headed the bank until now, and Boris Zakrajsak, the former director of Stol in Kamnik."

That is how the Bank of Slovenia's governor, Dr. France Arhar, announced the new method of management at LB. He said that the chairman of the board was Marko Voljc and that an expert team was needed for management with bad debts. In order not to lose time, it has been decided with the Agency that a team of people from the old bank will be formed, which will be under the strict supervision of the Rehabilitation Agency. The third person who is to head the bank as the Agency's trustee will be the chairman of the committee for credit-monetary affairs in the former parliament, Janko Dezelak.

That board, which is to head the new and purified LB, is to present the bank's executive directors at the experts' council of the Rehabilitation Agency in seven days. Slovene legislation is familiar with seven models for rehabilitating a bank. "We decided on a model that means a transfer of the bank's bad assets and bad debts. By the latter, we are thinking primarily of a transfer of the bank's share capital. The new creditor for the bank's debtors will be the Rehabilitation Agency. Claims and debts to the bank will have to be settled correctly, in accordance with the contracts. In this regard we expect that the management, which is most familiar with the debtors, will be involved along with the Rehabilitation Agency, and the Republic Fund is also to participate. The success of rehabilitation of the banks will depend upon the rehabilitation of enterprises in the real sector, and we also expect privatization of the banks," Dr. Arhar said. He added that "we are also to determine whether the LB banking group is still appropriate for this time and place. The mother bank has a 51-percent share of the daughters, and with the rehabilitation of the mother, the pitfalls of rehabilitation also extend to the daughters."

Minister Gaspari said that 13 banks were on the list for rehabilitation. This year about 1.9 percent of the gross domestic product is to be allocated in the budget for bank rehabilitation, and about 2 percent of the gross domestic product for enterprise rehabilitation.

Federal

Commentary Views U.S. Peace Plan

AU1702174793 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 p 2

[Commentary by Milan Misic: "America in Bosnia"]

[Text] President Clinton has finally put his cards on the table, but he has not offered any new maps. The disclosure of the United States plan for a closer engagement in solving the conflict in Bosnia has cleared the diplomatic terrain significantly, but it has not dispersed all doubts. Nevertheless, this impatiently awaited act is undoubtedly a cornerstone in the negotiation process so far.

If what has been announced the night before last is compared to what was hinted at before, it is clear that in Washington,the option based on realism rather than on a love of political (and military) adventure prevailed. Starting out from the point of a political and practical need for greater engagement of the United States in the Bosnian conflict and with the proclaimed goal of preventing it from escalating into a Balkan war, Clinton has decided to build on the existing structure of the peace agreement rather than to start anew.

That is why the American plan is more of a political platform for engagement in Bosnia than a detailed program. Analysis of all its elements gives the impression that what we have here is a desire to get the negotiating process going again after it has been brought to a standstill by the primarily Bosnian Muslims' reluctance to compromise. Although some reports said that the Vance-Owen plan had not been accepted by the Bosnian Serbs as well, it was clear to the well-informed that Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia president] was only steps from signing the agreement where Izetbegovic was miles away.

The most important element in the newly-declared American realism is the abandonment of the option which specified the use of military force in implementing the Bosnian agreement, that was present in the electoral, and to a certain extent postelectoral rhetoric. Let us remind ourselves that several options were in circulation, from a selective bombing of Serbian positions to the lifting of the weapons embargo imposed on the Muslims.

In this context, the platform disclosed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher carries a very clear message for Alija Izetbegovic: Since foreign military intervention is out of the question, the war must be ended at the negotiating table. This implies that the ratio of power in the field must be taken into account. That is why Sarajevo's first reactions did not hide their disappointment, which might be an indication of new cracks in the seemingly solid bloc of the Bosnian Muslims.

It is clear that Russia will be given the task of convincing the Serbian side to give up not only some of their war gains, but wider also their political ambitions of connecting with the mother country. The convincing argument will be the request for a "tightening" of the sanctions imposed on Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia "in order to raise the political and economic price of the aggression." After the visible shift toward peace in Belgrade's policy, however, this is more of an old conditioned reflex and a preventive measure than a new escalation.

The addition of a "third man" to the existing Vance-Owen duo, along with realistic chances that this trio will be joined by Russia's representatives and thus become a quartet, should serve to speed the whole process. The fact that the negotiations have been moved to New York implies that Bosnia-Hercegovina is becoming the first priority of international politics. This in turn leads to the conclusion that the negotiating will not be allowed to go on forever.

In any case, everything that has so far been done by the international mediators has not been in vain. Their achievement is reflected not only in the fact that they laid the foundations for the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state of three constitutive peoples, but also in the emergence of a consensus of international factors that the solution to the conflict (with silent and in places audible admission that unprincipled interference only served to escalate the conflict) lies in an internal agreement, rather than external force.

Finally, the American platform offers a practical (military) mechanism that will guarantee survival of the solution agreed upon. That is why there is hope that the latest unraveling of the Bosnian knot in Washington, unlike the former act (the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina), will serve to extinguish rather than to stir the fire.

Panic Hopes To Form Balkan Economic Union

LD1602205093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 16 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG)—Outgoing Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, a Serbian-born U.S. businessman, told a news conference in Belgrade on Tuesday [16 February] he would remain in Yugoslavia and his ambitions were 'humane and patriotic.'

Panic recalled that his cabinet had taken office seven months ago, at a time when war raged in Bosnia-Hercegovina, when U.N. sanctions were introduced against Yugoslavia and when the governments world over turned their backs on Yugoslavia. He said the situation was somewhat more favourable now and the new Federal Government would be able to work in more normal conditions.

Panic said he was ready to cooperate with all forces in the country which shared his approach.

Panic said he would work as a private citizen for an end to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the lifting of the U.N. sanctions. He said he would also commit himself to the creation of a Balkan economic union which would, in addition to the republics of the former Yugoslavia, comprise Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Albania and possibly also Turkey.

Panic did not deny that there were many errors and shortcomings in the work of his government, but said it was difficult to head a government when the legislature was against it. Panic said a balance between the government and parliament needed to be established.

Panic said a more democratic legislature, which he said meant a strong opposition, was necessary if there was to be a democratization of society.

'That is not the case now,' Panic said and expressed hope he would succeed in helping 'unite into a single opposition grouping the groups of political movements which call themselves opposition parties.'

The federal parliament voted no confidence in the Panic government on December 30 last year, after federal elections were held on December 20. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) have a majority in the newly elected federal parliament.

Federal prime minister-designate Radoje Kontic, who was Panic's deputy, will present his programme and cabinet list to the federal parliament at its next session, scheduled for February 25.

Foreign Ministry Protests Border 'Violations'

LD1702154693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1429 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav federal Foreign Ministry on Wednesday handed a protest note to the Albanian charge d'affaires in Belgrade because of the increasingly frequent violations of the border regime on the Yugoslav-Albanian border caused by illegal crossing of Albanian citizens onto Yugoslav territory, opening fire on Yugoslav border troops and other incidents.

The border incidents, which have unfortunately caused human casualties among Albanian citizens, are the consequence of the Albanian side's insufficient readiness to secure its own border by adequate measures and take preventive action to thwart its citizens from illegally crossing into Yugoslavia, the note said.

The federal ministry recalled in its note that the Yugoslav side had intermittently noted in 1992 that the chief mixed commission for border incidents and the mixed commission for renewing, repairing and maintaining the border line should meet, but that the Albanian side did not respond positively.

The Yugoslav side now again proposes that the two commissions meet as soon as possible to discuss numerous unresolved problems and determine measures to eliminate the problems affecting the situation on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which would be an important step towards improving the two countries' relations as a whole.

Air Force Chief Sees Intervention Danger

LD1702185693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 February (TANJUG)—The danger of foreign military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] still exists, Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the air force and antiaircraft defense of the Yugoslav Army, said today.

Addressing retired officers and civilians working for the air force and antiaircraft defense in the Air Force Club in Zemun, he said that the biggest obstacle to foreign military intervention on our territory is "the real and constant danger of its spreading, which would cause a conflict of wider proportions."

A military intervention, if it occurs, most probably would be carried out according to a more flexible model, which would offer opportunity to implement it gradually or interrupt it when the desired objective is achieved, General Stevanovic said.

He noted that "Yugoslavia does not want a war, but if this is imposed, it has to be prepared to wage it."

"If a military intervention takes place, Yugoslavia will defend its freedom, independence, and territorial integrity by all means at its disposal," Stevanovic said.

Speaking about the transformation of the Yugoslav Army, he said that it is gaining momentum, although it is a process that will take several years and successful completion of which will depend on the wholehearted support of the state and society.

He said that "while our state is assuming its outlines, the Yugoslav Army will be intended primarily for defense against foreign aggression; for the prevention of internal conflicts, it is necessary to set up an adequately manned and equipped police force."

Stressing that the Yugoslav Army is a completely legally depoliticized organization, Stevanovic said that certain difficulties have been caused by "those political forces in the country which do not understand the process of depoliticization and keep asking the Army to become the arbiter and take the resolution of urgent social problems into its own hands."

"Such omissions from the past must not be allowed," Stevanovic said.

Speaking about the military and political situation in the world and in the country, he said that what happened and what has been happening in this region over the past

two years is partly the process of creating a new world order only to suit egoistic interests of leading Western countries.

According to him, the foreign factor is still exerting unprecedented pressure on our country in order to resolve the Yugoslav crisis according to its will and liking, and to the detriment of the Serbian nation and its legitimate national and existential rights and interests.

Stevanovic said that the Vance-Owen plan is unprincipled and is biased to the benefit of Croats—and to Muslims, to a certain extent—and to the detriment of Serbs.

"If the plan is accepted, the Serb people have not achieved that for which they were fighting, the Serbian national question will not be resolved justly, and the Balkans will become an even more unstable area, with constant threats to peace. If the peace plan is not accepted, there is a real danger of foreign intervention, which would be carried out by the big powers, headed by the United States."

He said it is his opinion that "if the proposed map is corrected properly, in the way suggested by Dr Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia president], the plan should be accepted because of the constellation of international relations."

Speaking about Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, he said that this action was part of the intention to forcibly establish Croatian authority in these territories.

In his words, 35,000 soldiers were grouped in order to take south sector and Knin, 15,000 in western Slavonia, and five to seven brigades and battalions in Baranja, eastern Slavonia and western Srem.

The Muslim forces' activities in the upper part of the Drina valley, as he said, are related to this plan so as to draw the FRY into the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and accuse it of aggression.

General Stevanovic said 13,000 to 15,000 members of Muslim forces are deployed in these actions.

Stevanovic also reflected on the latest elections in the country by saying "that the foreign element had high hopes that the forces loyal to it would win the election."

"Patriotic forces triumphed at the election, that is, those forces that people believed are patriotic and true followers of the spirit of the people, that are no one's instrument, and that will defend the people's right to freedom, survival, and simple existence until the very end," Stevanovic noted.

He points out that changes are necessary in the activities of political parties and movements. In his words, that would boil down to preventing the organization and activities of the "fifth column."

"The vast majority of parties have patriotically outlined programs as they fight honestly within the multiparty system. A small number of parties and influential party and nonparty individuals, supported and directed from abroad, operate from extreme positions. They identify the national and state interests of Serbia and Montenegro with those created and formulated by the creators of the new world order," Stevanovic said.

"They are even enticing some retired officers into their dirty game," he added, and appealed to retired members of the Air Force and antiaircraft defense "not to let anyone manipulate them."

State Policy Committee Postpones Session

LD1702141193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—A session of the Committee for Coordination of State Policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not be held on Wednesday [17 February] as scheduled, TANJUG learns at the office of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic.

The session, which was to review topical questions concerning the situation in Yugoslavia and its position abroad, has been postponed because of the inability of some committee members to attend.

In addition to the Yugoslav president, the committee's members are the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, the federal and the republic prime ministers and special aide to the federal president Svetozar Stojanovic.

Production Drops 23 Percent Since December

AU1702172593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Report by Olivera Stajic]

[Text] Statistical data for January show that, in comparison with the first month of last year, not a single economic sector as a whole increased production. The situation is the most stable in the energy industry, with the production of oil and gas even registering a 16-percent increase.

The non-metal industry [industrija nemetala] seems to be suffering the most from the consequences of the sanctions, with production down by three quarters. The situation is similar in the textile, leather, and rubber industries. As for foodstuffs, the greatest drop was noted in the tobacco industry. What is worrying is a great drop in production compared with December 1992—by a staggering 23 percent.

Foreign trade has been reduced to a minimum. In January 1993, exports were down approximately 80 percent against January 1992, while imports were even

smaller. In January, we exported $79 million worth of goods and imported $130 million.

Aircraft Manufacturer Develops Surveillance Plane

LD1202230493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Pancevo, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—The aircraft manufacturer "Utva" of Pancevo has become capable, in the short time since the breakup of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, of manufacturing and overhauling all types of domestic aircraft, Utva director Jovo Opsenica said at a news conference today.

The program of this sole aircraft industry in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is based, Opsenica noted, on production and overhaul of the "Super Galeb—G4" training and light attack fighter, work on a new model of combat aircraft, production of the "Lasta" basic trainer, the joint production of a heavy helicopter, unmanned aircraft, and aerial combat weaponry.

Due to the economic blockade and sanctions, most work is being concentrated on overhauling the G-4 and the basic trainer. This is why 400 employees have been forced to go on leave.

Which elements of all these will be developed, Opsenica stressed, depends largely on the Yugoslav state and its Army. Utva has large capacities and exceptionally skilled staff, but whether all this will be put to any use, and if yes to what extent, depends on the state.

The Pancevo aircraft industry has a great reputation in the world. It has established cooperation with the world's largest and most distinguished aircraft manufacturers, primarily with Boeing and Douglas, but this has all been frozen now. Its contracts with the world's partners have not been broken, although it is certain that they will not wait too long if the sanctions remain in effect.

At the moment Utva is developing a program of machining tools to manufacture wing struts for the Russian Tupolev-204 airliner. Whether this $29-million contract will be realized in full depends on the Russians, that is on whether their firm will honor sanctions, or whether it will assume its obligations following its own interest.

Of all Utva's new programs the unmanned airplane is the most topical, and its prototype has already been made. Its basic role is electronic surveillance. Whether this aircraft will enter full-scale production depends on the Yugoslav Army and its plans.

Apart from the military program, most attention is being paid to a multirole ultralight airplane called "Vila" (fairy). This plane was hatched by a group of amateurs from Pancevo and was later adopted by Utva. This plane is fitted with a 65-horsepower engine and is capable of reaching 150 kms per hour. This plane will reach the market by the end of this year, while its price will be lower than that of a private car.

Serbia

Sanctions Force Mine, Foundry To Lay Off Workers

LD1802111093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0118 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Bor (eastern Serbia), 17 Feb (TANJUG)—A third of the 23,000-strong workforce of the "Bor" mine and metal foundry (RTB) were on regular, exceptional, or compulsory leave in February.

This situation has been caused by the international economic blockade, as a result of which many enterprises within the RTB have been forced to halve or halt production.

The worst situation is in the valves and fuses factory where as many as 90 percent of employees are not working. In the foil factory 80 percent of workers are on leave and 60 percent in the wire factory.

The situation is similar in the copper cables and pipes factory and other enterprises in Majdenpek and Zajecar, which now only work for the domestic market. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Gligorov Says UN Name Proposal 'Unacceptable'

AU1702182293 Paris AFP in English 1806 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Skopje, Sept 17 (AFP) [dateline as received]—President Kiro Gligorov of Macedonia rejected a United Nations proposal to grant it admission to the world body under the name of "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia".

The rejection, in a speech to parliament Tuesday [16 February] night, drew a strong reaction on Wednesday from the Greek Foreign Ministry in Athens.

Gligorov denied accusations by independent and opposition members of Macedonia's parliament of "tacitly consenting" to the UN compromise, insisting that the application for membership was made under the name Republic of Macedonia.

Greece has blocked international recognition for Macedonia, arguing that the name Macedonia—a province of northern Greece—implies claims on Greek territory.

Gligorov said the name proposed by the UN, which was to be provisional, was "unacceptable," and he also rejected a proposal by France to put the matter again to arbitration.

In Athens on Wednesday, the Foreign Ministry issued a prepared statement saying that Macedonia's rejection "shows that its disdain for the international community and its open intransigeance undermines the latest effort to find a solution."

"The Greek Government," the statement continued, "declares itself obliged to take all appropriate measures to defend its national and historic rights and the security of the country."

Gligorov Holds Talks With Turkish President Ozal

LD1702181093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Skopje, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—Political talks between the president of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, and Turkish President Turgut Ozal continued in Skopje this afternoon. President Ozal arrived in Skopje today on—as stated—"a two-day official visit to the republic as the leader of the country that was among the first to recognize Macedonia."

As reported, the Gligorov-Ozal political talks are focused "on ways of improving bilateral relations" and "on the situation in the region and specifically on the territory of former Yugoslavia."

A press conference is scheduled to take place tonight when results of the talks are due to be announced.

Macedonian Assembly Speaker Stojan Andov this afternoon received a delegation of the Turkish parliament, which arrived with President Ozal. The talks concentrated on the establishment of parliamentary bilateral cooperation.

Following a brief meeting between the Chairmen of the Macedonian Economic Chamber and the Turkish Union of the Industrial and Trade Chambers and Stock Markets, 30 Turkish and 50 Macedonian businessmen met in the Macedonian Chamber this afternoon. "The aim of our visit is to show the entire world that Turkey supports the Republic of Macedonia," said the chairman of the Turkish Union of Industrial and Trade Chambers and Stock Markets. He sharply criticized the hypocrisy of western countries and the games they play with Macedonia." [no opening quotation mark as received]

In the course of talks, businessmen from the two countries supported an initiative put forward by the Macedonian economic Chamber about the formation of a mixed Macedonian-Turkish chamber or a joint council, which would advise the governments of these two countries about the best ways of improving cooperation.

The Macedonian Economic Chamber asked Turkey to grant most-favored-nation status. An initiative was set in motion to form a Macedonian-Turkish bank in order to avoid mediation of banks from third countries in Macedonian-Turkish economic and financial relations.

Ozal Offers Support to Army

LD1802004993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2358 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Skopje, February 17 (TANJUG)—Turkish President Turgut Ozal said Wednesday night in Skopje he exchanged views with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov on possibilities for ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and preventing it from spreading to the Balkans' south.

Following the talks with Gligorov, as part of a two-day official visit, Ozal said Turkey gave comprehensive support to the process of international recognition of Macedonia.

The personnel of the young Macedonian National Army, Ozal said, would in the future undergo training in Turkey, which will also ensure all material, technical and technological assistance.

He said Turkey was also prepared to boost ties between the two states through most diverse forms of economic cooperation.

Gligorov thanked Turkey for the aid it gave Skopje in its efforts to attain international recognition as well as for material help. He described the talks with Ozal as very successful.

The Turkish president travels on Thursday to Albania, as part of the tour during which he had visited Bulgaria and was also to pay an official visit to Croatia.

At a news conference after the talks with Gligorov, Ozal denied that his tour of Balkan countries was an attempt to organize a "siege of Serbia". In his view, this was a "fabrication" coming from the "sources in Athens and in Nicosia as well as TANJUG", the Yugoslav new agency in Belgrade.

Meets Albanian Delegation

LD1802110493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 18 Feb 93

[Text] Pristina, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—Turgut Ozal, president of the Republic of Turkey, met a delegation of Kosovo Albanians in Skopje yesterday. Members of the delegation included Dr. Fehmi Agani, deputy president of the Democratic League of Kosovo [DSK], and Dr. Ali Aliju, a member of the DSK Presidency, BUJKU newspaper of Pristina writes today.

In its report on the meeting, BUJKU points out that "the talks took place at the request of Turkish President Ozal."

TANJUG Criticizes Ozal's 'Campaign'

LD1702204393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—With anti-Yugoslav statements by Turkish President Turgut Ozal

and his personal campaign against the Serbian people, Turkey is taking on a great responsibility for the escalation of the conflict precisely at the moment when the international community is doing everything to end the war on the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This is stated in a reply by a representative of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs to a question raised by the TANJUG diplomatic correspondent about anti-Yugoslav statements by Turkish President Turgut Ozal within the framework of a campaign he led in a support "of an Islamic state of Bosnia."

The Foreign Ministry representative assesses that these actions threaten to prevent normal cooperation between Turkey and Yugoslavia and the very foundations of bilateral relations. The announcement about the birth of "a new Muslim-Bosnian country with 160 million Turks," which was made by Ozal in Istanbul recently, only pours fuel on the fire of the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, whose continuation Alija Izetbegovic wants.

In doing this, the Foreign Ministry statement stresses, Turkey is taking on the greatest possible international responsibility for possible unforeseeable consequences for a further spread of this war and at the moment when a possibility is emerging to find an acceptable and lasting political rather than military solution on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan.

Such statements made by the Turkish president must be seen also as encouragement for a very aggressive tone in the Turkish press, which paints Serbia as "a nation of criminals and murderers." All this is a part of a drive to exacerbate the situation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the world artificially and from outside. These statements, almost unheard of in the modern practice of international relations, follow a series of Turkish moves that challenge normal interstate relations. For instance, more than 700 pupils and students from Sandzak have recently been taken to Turkey for education on the basis of their national orientation and without any cooperation or consultation with competent Yugoslav bodies. If one bears in mind that the Turkish parliament passed a resolution "approving" of the dispatch of Turkish troops "to Bosnia-Hercegovina and other republics of former Yugoslavia" last December, then the proportions of the Turkish responsibility for the escalation of conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina are obvious. They represent a direct challenge to the entire peace mechanism, which is starting to yield its first serious results.

Proceeding from the interests of peace and a political solution to the crisis, the Yugoslav Government has during the crisis drawn the attention of top Turkish officials to the great dangers and extremely dangerous consequences of such a Turkish policy toward the region.

In spite of all our warnings, as well as warnings by other countries involved in the peace processes regarding Bosnia-Hercegovina and the former SFRY, Turkey has continued and is continuing to insist on "military solutions" to the crisis and the very serious civil and religious war in former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Its responsibility is heightened by the fact that high-ranking Turkish officials, and even President Ozal, continue to call for a "religious war" against Serbia and the FRY. They are doing this even after clear indications that the governments of the two most powerful nations—the United States and Russia—are ready to back peaceful and political and not military and aggressive ways of resolving the crisis.

In the wake of recent demonstrations in Istanbul, where passions ran high and demonstrators destroyed Yugoslav property in the center of Istanbul, President Ozal started his tour of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania, and Croatia clearly stating "Serbs must be pressed from all sides."

Such a policy has been pushing Turkey in the wrong direction in the past and now. Such hostile statements in spirit and word, made by Turkish state leadership, represent an unheard of and impertinent challenge to peace. For this reason, such statements cause the indignation of the Yugoslav Government and public, the Foreign Ministry statement for TANJUG concludes.

Kosovo

Children Reportedly Die From Smallpox Epidemic

AU1702121693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] As stated by the Epidemiology Institute of Kosovo, smallpox has spread to many part of Kosovo. According to the records of this institute, 1,450 children have been registered to have this disease. So far 10 of them have died. Because of this, several health organizations, particularly in Urosevac, Gnjilane, and Vitina, have declared a state of emergency.

This was reported by the Croatian radio.

Rugova Meets UN Official, Drafts Peace Plan

AU1702152893 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—In the course of his visit to the U.S.A., Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova and Premier Bujar Bukoshi met with Ambassador Vladimir Petrovski, UN undersecretary general for political affairs.

The Kosovo leaders briefed him on the grave situation in Kosovo and stressed the need to station UN troops in Kosovo.

Dr. Rugova and Joseph Dioguardi hailed the Albanian community of New York. This community staged a protest in front of the UN headquarters on February 16 midday. It is reported that President Rugova had drafted a 10-point peaceful plan which will be forwarded to the U.S. interlocutors and mass media in Washington.

Albanians Complain About 'State Coercion'

AU1602145993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 6

[Report by M. Antic: "Enforcing the Rule of Law"]

[Text] Pristina—Albanian language media published here in Pristina have recently been devoting at least one page a day to news "about ethnic Albanians being arrested, maltreated, searched, robbed, and detained by the Serbian police."

Reports cite the names of dozens or hundreds of people whom "the Serbian occupying authorities," have been provoking, arresting, beating, and maltreating for no particular reason. These reports, the summaries of which are now being published in every commune, also contain the reasons for "the Serbian police coercion." The reports claim that a large number of Albanians are taken to the police stations, after their houses had been searched, for illegally possessing arms, which in most cases, according to the Albanian media, the police do not find. Such actions are described by Albanian politicians and the public as "state coercion by the occupier," and are being compared with the action of arms confiscation in Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] in 1956 and 1957. It is claimed that many Albanians end up in hospitals because they do not admit they have arms.

The next reason "Albanians are being arrested and maltreated," as yesterday's BUJKU writes, is the refusal by Albanian youths to go to the army and serve "the occupying state and the army." The reports cite cases of the militia sending calls to the young men directly or indirectly, via relatives. Those who do not respond to the call are threatened with prison. The actual call up and recruitment are referred to as "an occupying act."

There is also reference to numerous cases of "unjustified attacks by the Serbian police on Albanians," particularly on the activists of various political parties. They are forced to admit "the existence of Albanian crisis and war committees," and say where "the arms are hidden." All activities of the financial police are also considered state coercion. The confiscation of illegally imported goods is described as "plunder by the Serbian thieves."

It is difficult to obtain official information about individual cases in Pristina because only the Ministry of Internal Affairs, or persons authorized to do so can give this kind of information. The only thing we managed to learn is that the special organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia in Kosmet, except when individual officers overstep their authority and behave arrogantly, never take any action before checking out information, before they establish there is legal basis for their action. We were unofficially told that not a single law-abiding citizen has had problems with the police. All those involved in black marketering, the illegal sale of arms and other goods, as well as those who are avoiding military service are subject to the law that applies to all citizens equally.

As proof their actions are based on law, the police in Kosmet claim they have hundreds of confiscated automatic rifles, thousands of bullets of various caliber, a large amount of explosives, hundreds of pistols, and so forth, for which their Albanian owners did not have any documentation.

Albanians Urge Immediate Reopening of Schools

AU1702152693 Tirana ATA in English 1313 GMT 17 Feb 93

["Statement of Dr. Fehmi Agani on the Normalization of Albanian Education in Kosovo"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—As the newspaper RILINDJA on Kosovo published in Switzerland reports, the 10th round of talks on the normalization of Albanian education in Kosovo will be held in Belgrade on February 17-18. Regarding these talks, the leader of the delegation of Albanian education of Kosovo, Dr. Fehmi Agani, stated: We shall demand that all elementary schools, the secondary schools, and the university be immediately reopened. Only on this condition we shall agree to pass on to other questions. So far, the Serbian party has sabotaged these talks. It insists that the solution of the question of the Albanian education in Kosovo should be found in the context of educational provisions of Serbia. This is not acceptable because in such a way our sovereignty in the question of education will be lost.